SYLLOGE OF ISLAMIC COINS IN THE ASHMOLEAN

VOLUME 1

THE PRE-REFORM COINAGE OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD

by
STEPHEN ALBUM
and
TONY GOODWIN

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OXFORD

SYLLOGE OF ISLAMIC COINS IN THE ASHMOLEAN
Volume One: The pre-reform coinage of the early Islamic period

This volume contains just under 750 coins of the pre-reform period from all parts of the Islamic world. It is particularly strong in the Arab-Sasanian silver and Arab-Byzantine gold and copper issues.

The two introductory sections represent significant contributions to the field. They offer the first comprehensive analysis of the monetary history of the early Islamic period since Walker's pioneering catalogues of the British Museum collections and are intended to serve as an introduction for the non-specialist as well as the numismatist.

The material is arranged by mint and chronologically within mints.

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ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OXFORD
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Samir Shamma 1911-2001

Samir Shamma, who died at his home in Amman, Jordan, on 14 August 2001, at the age of ninety, was for many years a generous friend and benefactor of the University of Oxford. He was born at Safad, in Palestine, and qualified as a lawyer in Jerusalem. Obliged to leave in 1948, he emigrated with his wife to Saudi Arabia where he built up a career as the first non-Shari'a lawyer there. Working initially in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later in the Ministry of Petroleum, he was closely involved in negotiations between Saudi Arabia and other nations concerning the oil industry, and knew many figures prominent on the world stage. He introduced Company Law and Shipping Law to Saudi Arabia, and until 1996 administered the Patent and Trade Mark office.

But it is as an Islamic numismatist that Oxford chiefly knew him—as patron, scholar and collector. His passionate interest in the subject and his desire to foster the academic study of coins as a tool for the historian led him to sponsor the research of many young scholars, to found and edit a journal of numismatics at Yarmuk University, and to finance the publication of several major catalogues and works of scholarship. In 1994 he made an endowment for a University Lecturership in Islamic Numismatics at Oxford University, and a Visiting Fellowship at St Cross college which has annually brought scholars of great distinction to Oxford. He also placed his magnificent coin collection on loan to the Ashmolean Museum where it is in the process of publication in the sylloge series to which this volume belongs. His own publications were numerous, and include a catalogue of Abbasid copper coins, an account of the coins of Filastin, and an important report on the Asir hoard.

He will be sadly missed by the many colleagues and friends he made during his long and fruitful career. His work and the many projects which he initiated, sponsored, and encouraged will remain as a permanent testimony to his energy, enthusiasm, and far-sighted vision.

Helen Brown
Formerly curator of Oriental coins
Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum

FOREWORD

This volume of the sylloge represents one of the most significant sections of the Islamic collections presently lodged in the Heberden Coin Room. The coinage of the early Islamic period represents an outstandingly important body of material evidence for the historian and art historian, but has been largely ignored by the non-numismatist until this day. The reasons for this are two-fold: first, that so little of this material has been adequately published and second, that there is no detailed overview of the early period which takes into account the huge numbers of coins which have come to light since John Walker's two catalogues were published (Walker 1941 and 1956). This volume seeks to address both issues with the publication in sylloge form of 742 Arab-Sasanian and Arab-Byzantine coins preceded by detailed introductions to the coinage. Steve Album has been responsible for the Arab-Sasanian material and commentary and Tony Goodwin for the Arab-Byzantine. I would like to thank both authors for their co-operation and patience during the long and difficult process of putting together a book of this size and complexity.

Luke Treadwell
(Series Editor)

Arab-Sasanian coinage

The term Arab-Sasanian has come to refer to coins with Sasanian designs that were struck by Muslim authorities in the second half of the seventh and throughout the eighth century; virtually all have both Arabic and Pahlavi inscriptions. There are five different series, of which only the first four are included in this volume.[1]

(1) The main series, which comprises the great majority of all Arab-Sasanian issues and was struck approximately AD 651-704 (AH 31-85).

(2) The Arab-Ephthalite series, an ephemeral series struck in the late 680s (AH 60s) and again for an isolated issue in 84/703; these bear Bactrian inscriptions as well as Arabic and Pahlavi.

(3) The later Sīstān series, struck in the Sīstān (Sijistān) province from about 70/690 until some point between about 790 and 800 (circa AH 175-180).

(4) The Ṭabaristān series, struck in that province from 711 to about 815 (roughly AH 92-199), though continuously only until 794.

(5) The Arab-Bukhāran series, struck from the middle of the 8th century AD until early in the 9th century (plus a few isolated later issues).

The term Arab-Sasanian is rather recent, having first been coined by John Walker in 1941. Since then, it has become widely accepted, although some scholars regard it as imprecise. Walker deemed it a convenient phrase to refer to a category of coinage that had been known since Fraehn first realised, in 1824, that some coins of Sasanian type were issues of the Muslims and conformed to the description of early Islamic coinage preserved by Maqrīzī. The latter, in his early 15th century work, *Shudhūr al-ʿuqūd fī dhikr al-nuqūd*, states that the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb struck *kasrawī* dirhams that differed from the older *kasrawī* dirhams (i.e., drachms) by the addition of an Arabic phrase.[2] Fraehn originally called them "typo veterum Persarum s. Sasanidarum signati" (old Persian types with Sasanian images), but later referred to the coins as Arab-Khusraw, a term which never caught on.[3] Thomas, in 1848, simply referred to them as coins of the Arab governors of Persia "with Pehlevi legends". In 1854, Mordtmann made the first attempt to present an overview of the coinage; he did not preserve Thomas's term, but called them rather cumbersomely "Münzen arabischen Chalifen und Statthalter mit Pehlvi-Legenden".[4] Various other phrases were subsequently used for the coinage until 1941, none of them attractive, some truly ugly, as de Morgan's "copies arabes des drachmes sasanides".[5] Moreover, the notion that the category now known as Arab-Sasanian should have its own designation seems not to have arisen, perhaps because the series was then ordinarily regarded as nothing more than a subordinate category of proper Sasanian coinage. Since 1941, the term Arab-Sasanian had achieved wide currency. Nonetheless, during the 1990s, Sears has consistently eschewed the term, choosing intead the less mellifluous but technically more accurate phrase, "Sasanian-style Muslim coinage". Given that the term Arab-Sasanian has been around for six decades, is easy to pronounce and is universally understood by those who study or collect the series, I have elected to honour tradition and retain Walker's terminology.

Moreover, the term Arab-Sasanian has spread to many languages: French *arabe-sassanide*, German *arabosasanidisch*, Russian *arabo-sasanidski*, Arabic and Persian *ʿarab-sāsānī* (عرب–ساساني), though Naqshabandi preferred the lengthy phrase الدرهم الاسلامي على الطراز الساساني, "the Islamic dirham of Sasanian style". This nearly universal usage of the term is yet another reason for keeping it current.

Iconography: the obverse

All Arab-Sasanian drachms bear an obverse design essentially derived from the obverse of the third series of Khusraw II, struck during his regnal years 11 through 39 (AD 601-628).[6] In the following paragraphs the various elements are described, and variations from the norm are noted when they appear in the main series. The iconography of the Ṭabaristān and the ephemeral Arab-Ephthalite coinages conforms closely to the main series. The later Sīstān series, on the other hand, displays substantial iconographic variations, essentially a simplification of the designs in the form of outline figures, in effect a severely degenerate stylisation of the prototype. Excellent annotated line drawings of both obverse and reverse were published by Gaube.[7]

A. Crown: The crown is that of Khusraw II, varying in style but not in its elements. The base of the crown is represented by two parallel dotted lines. From the base extend two turrets, one in profile, one frontal. Behind the turrets can be seen the cap which covers the king's head. From the top of the cap extends a staff topped by a crescent and a star. To the left and right of the staff appears a wing, attached to the cap adjacent to the staff.

B. Crown Ornaments: To the left of the crown, between the profile turret and the outer circle is normally found a small star; in the equivalent position to the right is normally a star-and-crescent. These ornaments are sometimes omitted, especially on the right, often due to the need to fit a lengthy name legend into the area before the bust.

(1) As for the Arab-Bukhāran series, Alexandr Naymark has shown that they were produced from the 8th to the 12th century; he plans to publish shortly a detailed overview of the entire Bukhārkhudā coinage, including the Arabicised issues.

(2) Maqrizi 1967, p. 8. The details of the early coinage provided by Maqrīzī, including the Arabic legends on them, are largely confused, but the concept of an Arabic *kasrawī* coinage is correct. However, the earliest coins with Arabic legends date to the caliphate of ʿUmar's successor, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, not to ʿUmar himself, as proposed by Maqrīzī.

(3) Fraehn 1826, p. 3. At this stage he was only aware of the Ṭabaristān series.

(4) Mordtmann 1854, p. 148.

(5) de Morgan 1913, p. 15.

(6) Göbl 1968, Tabelle XII, series 3 (type II/3). The Yazdigerd type Arab-Sasanian drachms derive from the late type of Yazdigerd III, which is identical to the Khusraw II series 3, except for the name of the ruler.

(7) Gaube 1973, opposite p. 10.

C. Eye: The eye is always semi-frontal and consists of a large dot within two oblique and usually slightly curved lines meeting at the left. The gap between these lines at the right creates the illusion that the eye is looking to the right: hence the term semi-frontal.

D. Moustache: The moustache is represented by a single wavy line, usually consisting of three arcs.

E. Beard: The beard is always represented by a group of dots, typically between about eight and thirteen. On most issues the dots are arranged in two parallel horizontal rows of four, five or six dots each, but on others the dots are randomly placed within the beard area. Neither the number nor the placement of the dots seems to have any significance, though individual die engravers probably engraved the dots similarly on all dies they produced, at least within a short span of time. The placement of the dots is one of the most useful diagnostics for determining die links. The lower edge of the beard is indicated by a single, rather thick, curved line, sometimes plain but more often beaded; to the left it curves upward to form the sideburn and typically ends just behind the eye.

F. Ear: The ear consists of a single curved line, in the form of a reversed question mark.

G. Earring: The most common form of the earring is three pellets (pearls or jewels) suspended from the earlobe. This form is identified as E0; variant forms are termed E1 through E5, following Gaube's chart on his Plate 6, with one addition. A table of the earrings appears before the mint map.

H. Necklace: The necklace is always a curved beaded line below the neck, the beads presumably representing jewels or pearls. Very rarely the necklace consists of *two* parallel curved lines (e.g., Walker 105 of Dasht Maysān 63).

I. Breast Ornament: From the centre of the necklace hangs a pendant known as the breast ornament. The most common form is a triangle of three pellets, thus identical to the earring (B0); variants are termed B1 through B15, again following Gaube's chart on his Plate 6, with six additional forms. A table of the breast ornaments appears before the mint map.

J. Shoulder Straps: To the left and right of the necklace are two pairs of parallel lines, normally beaded. These represent the upper hem of the king's robe, which was presumably set with jewels; alternatively, they can be regarded as additional necklaces that hang lower than the necklace bearing the pendant. However, a hem is more likely, given the development of this feature from early Sasanian coinage.

K. Shoulder Ornaments: On each shoulder, below the hem, appears a star-and-crescent. Because the area of the shoulder is often very narrow, these ornaments are frequently very condensed, sometimes omitted entirely. Different forms are found on some of the coins of Ṭabaristān. None of these variations are noted in the coin descriptions.

L. Shoulder Fillets: On the lifetime drachms of Khusraw II, an ornamental fillet rises from each shoulder. On Arab-Sasanian drachms, the left fillet is always present, but the right fillet is omitted on most drachms bearing the name of a governor, in order to accommodate the longer name legend.

M. Right Area Ornament: On all drachms bearing the third bust of Khusraw II, used in his years 11-39, there is a small crescent between the beard and the right fillet, i.e., at the bottom of the area to the right of the bust; the crescent is always open at the top. This is omitted on many Arab-Sasanian drachms, in a few cases replaced by a large pellet. Very occasionally, there is a small dot inside the crescent.

N. Hairball: The king's hair is tied into a large ball which hangs behind his shoulder. The hair within the ball is represented by numerous small crescents; the ball is attached to the back of the head by two to four parallel straight or curved lines. On worn coins, the crescents within the hairball often appear more like large pellets. The only significant variation in the hairball occurs on some drachms of Baṣra dated AH 55 in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, on which the hairball is indicated by three concentric circles. The engravers of the AFZWT series of Ṭabaristān seem to have forgotten the meaning of the hairball, for they added a second hairball in *front* of the bust, after the word AFZWT!

O. Left Legend: Behind the bust are found the two words AFZWT GDH, "may his glory increase". On the rare drachms struck at Harāt by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād dated 56 (not in this collection), the word AFZWT is replaced by the patronymic of the governor.

P. Right Legend: In front of the bust appears the name legend: AWSRWY on coins of Khusraw II and the Arab-Sasanian Khusraw types, YZKRT or something similar on coins of Yazdigerd III and Arab-Sasanian Yazdigerd types. With a few exceptions, the rest bear the name of a governor, written in two lines of text in Pahlavi. Normally a gubernatorial name legend consists of the governor's name in the inner line (nearer the bust) with the patronymic in the outer line. The genitive particle Y, indicating "son of", is placed either at the end of the inner line or at the beginning of the outer line, though it is sometimes omitted. Because there is considerable variation in spelling and arrangement of the name legend, it is transcribed in full for each listing in the catalogue. Some coins of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Ashʿath) and most coins of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf have the name legends in Arabic, as do most of the Ṭabaristān drachms (other Arabic names appear only in the obverse or reverse margins).

Q. Surrounding Circles: The bust is surrounded by two beaded or ridged circles. The outer circle extends from one wing to the other, interrupted only by the crown, and exhibits no variation. The inner circle is nearly as complete on the Khusraw II prototype, but is considerably shorter on some Arab-Sasanian types; the left end sometimes stops below the word GDH, in which case the right end is similarly truncated in order to achieve balance.

R. Margin: The area outside the outer circle is known as the margin. It is always divided by four star-and-crescent ornaments, of which the top star-and-crescent is part of the crown. On most coins of Dārābjird struck after AH 41 (YE 30), the left, lower and right star-and-crescent ornaments each have a small pellet placed outside the star; these are known as outer pellets; these occasionally appear

at other mints (noted in the text). The crescent is normally flattened in the centre, and the star is always six-pointed. On a few issues of Sīstān, especially those of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, the stars are replaced by what Sears has termed fleurons. However, the fleuron is actually a deformation of the star, in which the inner three rays (those closest to the centre of the coin) are compressed, often to the point that they completely disappear, while the outer three rays are exaggerated; this distinction is not noted in the catalogue.

S. Marginal Quadrants: The four divisions of the margin are termed quadrants and are numbered one through four in a clockwise direction, beginning to the right of the crown. These are labelled ObQ1, ObQ2, ObQ3 and ObQ4, respectively.

T. Marginal Legend: The margin always bears an Arabic inscription, most commonly placed in ObQ2, occasionally supplemented by additional Pahlavi, Arabic or Bactrian inscriptions. These legends become increasingly varied during the 60s, 70s and early 80s. The legend is always read clockwise, with a very few exceptions, the principal one being ObQ3 on the Ṭabaristān drachms, which is always read counterclockwise. Because of the high degree of variation, the marginal legend is given in full for each catalogue entry.

U. Marginal Ornaments: Various pellets, floral elements, isolated letters and monograms are found in the margin, increasingly so after the mid-50s. These are noted for each catalogue entry as well.

V. Countermarks: Countermarks invariably appear in the obverse margin, and are noted according to the Göbl/Gaube enumeration. Many coins countermarked on the obverse are also scraped on the reverse, presumably in order to detect whether the coin is silver all the way through; the presence of a scrape is not noted. Subaerata drachms are not especially common. It is not known whether they were made illicitly or with the consent of the responsible officials; a subaeratum coin consists of a copper centre with what is normally a rather thick silver plating.

In the catalogue descriptions, the crown ornament (B), the earring (G), the breast ornament (I), the right area ornament (M), the right legend (P), the marginal legend (T), the marginal ornaments (U) and any countermarks (V) are indicated. Other features are noted only when there is some variation deemed worthy of mention.

Iconography: the reverse

With the exception of a few special "experimental" issues in the last decade of the Arab-Sasanian coinage, all coins bear a reverse derived from the third emission of Khusraw II. The principal elements are described here.

A. Altar: The fire-altar always appears in the centre of the reverse field. It consists of four parts: (1) the base, composed of three sections vertically stacked; (2) a narrow shaft; (3) the upper portion, composed of two vertically stacked sections. At the very top is (4) a narrow section representing the brazier that contains the fire. The shaft is flanked by two ribbons, which flutter upwards, as if caught in the updraught caused by the fire above. On a few coins, mainly from Dārābjird, symbols or letters may appear in the empty spaces to the left or right of the altar base.

B. Fire: The fire is represented in most cases by a series of ten vertical dashes, four in the bottom row, three in the next row, then two, then one. Flanking the bottom of the flames are normally two pellets, one right and one left.

C. Star-and-crescent: Flanking the flames, near the inner circle, appear a star and a crescent. The star is virtually always to the right on the coins of Khusraw II but can be either to the left or right on Arab-Sasanian drachms; this is noted in the coin descriptions. On rare occasions, there are two stars or two crescents; on a few coins, mainly from Ṭabaristān, the star is replaced by a pellet. On some issues, the star-and-crescent are poorly engraved and barely identifiable.

D. Attendants: To the left and right of the altar are depicted two standing figures, positioned to indicate that they are guarding the fire. Their dress and attitude is exactly as the third issue of Khusraw II. Each has his arms folded, holding a sword that points down vertically; the sword is represented by a long vertical line, which is sometimes mistaken for part of the attendant's garment. On coins of Khusraw II, the attendants have their right hands on the pommel, their left hands on the crosspiece. Although this same arrangement is the most common arrangement on Arab-Sasanian drachms as well, on numerous coins the attendants have their left hands on the pommel, or the two attendants may have different hands on the pommel; on most drachms struck in Fārs in the 70s and 80s, the two hands meet evenly on the crosspiece. These details are noted in the listings.

E. Right legend: The mint signature is written in the right field (to the right of the right attendant), almost invariably in Pahlavi.

F. Left legend: The date is written in the left field (to the left of the left attendant), again almost invariably in Pahlavi. In a few isolated instances, the right and left legends are reversed. On the Syrian drachms and a rew rare issues of Jayy, the mint and date are written in Arabic.

G. Circles: The central imagery is invariably enclosed in three concentric beaded circles. On a few drachms struck in the 70s and 80s, as well as most Arab-Ephthalite drachms, there is a fourth circle outside the obverse or reverse margin, noted in the catalogue when it appears. The diameters of the three circles vary considerably.

H. Margin: The area outside the three circles is known as the margin, as on the obverse. It is likewise divided into four quadrants by star-and-crescent ornaments at the compass points; the quadrants are labelled RvQ1, RvQ2, RvQ3 and RvQ4, in a clockwise direction beginning with the upper right segment.

I. Marginal Legends: In contrast to the obverse, inscriptions are rarely placed in the reverse marginal quadrants.

J. Marginal Ornaments: Pellets, stars, isolated letters and monograms are occasionally found in the reverse margin, especially on drachms of Dārābjird.

For the reverse, the position of the star-and-crescent adjacent to the flames (C), the right legend (E) and the left legend (F) are always described. Marginal legends (I) and ornaments (J) are noted, as are some miscellaneous aspects, when considered noteworthy.

Method of description

In order to conserve space, the coin descriptions in this catalogue have been made as succinct as possible. The coins are organised alphabetically by mint, according to the English alphabet; an index by ruler, date and mint, is provided at the end of this volume. Within each mint, the coins are listed chronologically, as best as is known. Each listing consists of four parts: (1) ruler or anonymous type; (2) description of the obverse and reverse; (3) the date, together with the era of that date; and (4) the details of the particular specimen. Only parts (2) and (4) require further explanation.

Part 2a: the Obverse: The obverse description consists of four basic parts (capital letters refer to the obverse and reverse descriptions in the introduction). **Part 2a.1:** This item consists of four pieces of information, the form of the earring, the form of the breast ornament, the right area ornament above the effigy's left shoulder, and the crown ornament (paragraphs G, I, M and B, respectively, in the section on obverse iconography). The right area ornament, if present, normally consists of a simple crescent; hence the phrase "with crescent" means that a simple crescent appears above the left shoulder, open end upwards, whereas "no crescent" means that there is no right area ornament whatsoever. The phrase "standard crown" means that there is a star to the left of the crown and both a star and crescent (star above crescent) to the right. All other variations are described in detail. **Part 2a.2:** The next item is the name of the governor, normally in Pahlavi, that appears to the right of the bust; these are indicated in the language used on the coin, transliterated into the English alphabet. **Part 2a.3:** The third piece of information is the marginal legend, divided into four quadrants, clockwise from 12h. Blank quadrants are noted by a long hyphen (—); when a symbol or inscription (X) exists far to the right or far to the left within the quadrant, it is indicated as — X or X —, respectively. Unless otherwise noted, all inscriptions in the obverse margin are read clockwise; the principal exception is ObQ3 on the "hemidrachms" of Ṭabaristān, which is always read counterclockwise. Arabic inscriptions are given in transliteration, Pahlavi in Roman small caps, Bactrian in Greek. **Part 2a.4:** The fourth note is the presence and location of pellets and other symbols in the margin; minor variations of location are not noted, as they are clear in the illustrations. Countermarks are not included here but are noted in the descriptions of individual specimens.

Part 2b: the Reverse: The reverse description consists of five basic parts. **Part 2b.1:** This is the location of the star and crescent adjacent to the fire; "star left" means star to left and crescent to right, "star right" the reverse. Unusual or uncertain forms are described as needed. **Part 2b.2:** The second note explains how the hands of the attendants are holding the sword. L means that the attendant has his left hand on the pommel, his right on the crosspiece or hilt. R means the opposite, right on pommel, left on hilt. E means that both hands are evenly placed, normally on or just below the pommel. Q means that the attitude of the hands is uncertain, usually due to wear. Two letters are given, the first for the attendant to the left, the second for the attendant to the right. The left attendant is the one to the left of the altar, as viewed by the reader, whereas the left hand of the attendant is *his* left hand, viewed to the right by the reader. **Part 2b.3:** The third statement is the date, ordinarily in Pahlavi, written in Roman small caps. **Part 2b.4:** The fourth note consists of any inscriptions, isolated letters, pellets or symbols in the reverse margin; inscriptions are noted as on the obverse. **Part 2b.5:** The fifth note includes both pellets or other symbols found within the central region, normally either adjacent to the date or alongside the altar base. Also included is the occasional absence of the right or left attendant's fillet; when not noted, both fillets are present.

Part 4 consists of three parts. **Part 4a** consists of four sections, the catalogue number, the metal abbreviation (AR for silver, AE for copper), the die axis (according to the clock) and the weight in grams. **Part 4b** consists of comments specific to individual specimens, as described in the following paragraph. **Part 4c** contains the location of the coin; in the case of Ashmolean coins, the source of the coin and the year of acquisition are included when known. Coins of the Shamma collection are indicated solely by the item number included in the handlist of the collection. Parts 4a and 4c require no further commentary.

Part 4b: This section includes any description that applies to a single specimen. These include the following subjects: **4b.1**: Variations from the type descriptions in Part 2, as well as spelling variations of the date indicated in Part 3. **4b.2**: Wear, clipping or damage to the coin, as well as the presence of graffiti in the obverse or reverse margin. **4b.3**: Uncertainty or queries concerning the type or its variation. **4b.4**: Presence of countermarks, referenced to the type numbers published in Göbl 1967. **4b.5**: Die breaks and die damage. **4b.6**: On a few occasions, references to published examples of the same type, mint and date. **4b.7**: Die links; when there are three or more examples of a given type and date, the die links are noted after the list of descriptions.

Note: An asterisk following the catalogue number indicates that there is a note in the section immediately following the Arab-Sasanian section of the catalogue.

Historical survey of the coinage: the main series

Prior to the publication of Walker's 1941 catalogue, information concerning Arab-Sasanian coinage was too scattered and too inadequately illustrated to allow for a meaningful discussion of its development. Furthermore, the innumerable errors and misinterpretations, especially in the decipherment of mint signatures and dates, would have skewed the results of any such endeavour. Walker was able to eliminate many of the erroneous interpretations, but not enough of them to make feasible a comprehensive history of the coinage as a whole. In his 1973 study, by successfully revising many of Walker's conclusions, Gaube was able to make significant advances in our knowledge of the subject. Since then, a great deal has been published, and much new material made available, especially in auction

and sale catalogues. Two further comprehensive surveys have been undertaken, one by Kolesnikov in the late 1980s (published in 1998) and one by Sears in the mid-1990s (submitted as a dissertation in 1997, still unpublished), both of which incorporate major advances beyond the works of Gaube and Walker. While it would lie outside the scope of this introduction to attempt a full historical analysis of the coinage, a preliminary survey of the current state of research, as well as of the outstanding problems and uncertainties, seems in order.

In order to understand the series, it is necessary to establish a working definition of the main series of Arab-Sasanian coinage. This group of coins comprises all silver drachms struck in mints in central and southern Iraq, as well as all parts of Iran except Ādharbāyjān and the Caspian littoral, from the death of Yazdigerd III in 651 (AH 31) until the end of the series in AH 85 (which began on 14 January 704); the few rare Syrian issues are included as well. The coinage was struck at fifty or more mints, though most mints only operated for a very few years at most. The coins record the names of more than forty individuals, a few of whom are not attested in literary sources.

My intention in this survey is to determine the *principal* aspects of the development of this coinage over the 55 years of its existence. To accomplish this, I have tried to isolate the main developments from the clutter of exceptional issues, irregular issues, mulings, imitations, forgeries, etc.: the "trees" that all too often distract the scholar from the forest. The reader should nevertheless remain aware that within virtually every group of coins there are exceptions to the rules. Many, if not most, of the exceptional coins are official mint products; the rest are irregular coins of one or another sort. In their totality, the exceptional coins account for just a few percent of the total; it is the other 95% plus that best tell the story of the Arab-Sasanian coinage. To be sure, the 5% of strange and unusual coins must not be disregarded, but should only be carefully examined in conjunction with the main coinage.

The earliest Arab-Sasanian coinage

In order to make sense of the early development of the main series, one must take into account two crucial points that are now widely, if not universally, accepted: (1) the Yazdigerd type Arab-Sasanian coinage of Sīstān and the three Kirmānī mints, BN, GRM and NAR, commenced in the year 20 of the Yazdigerd Era (henceforth abbreviated YE; see the section on Dates for further explanation); (2) the Khusraw type drachms for all other provinces inscribed بسم الله (*bism allāh*) in the margin and dated between 21 and 39 bear authentic dates in the same era (except for a few irregular coins that are most likely later imitations). Aside from a few exceptional issues noted below, none of these pieces are dated in the Hijrī era, thus none can be earlier than YE 20. The upshot of these two axioms is that the main series of Arab-Sasanian coinage cannot have begun before YE 20, which commenced on 12 June 651, corresponding to AH 16 Shawwāl 30.

Recently, Nikitin and Roth (1995) have examined Yazdigerd type drachms from several mints that lack any Arabic inscriptions but which bear dates later than the year in which these mint towns were recorded to have been conquered by the Muslims. The authors have intriguingly suggested that these pieces should be regarded as Arab issues, thus as "Arab-Sasanian". Nearly all their examples are dated year 20; just a few bear earlier dates, between 17 and 19, all from the three Kirmānī mints of NAR, GRM, and BN.[8] In a study presented at a symposium at Tübingen in 1993 and published in 2000, Sue Tyler-Smith voiced a similar opinion, citing as well a number of somewhat enigmatic coins from mints further to the west, principally Iṣṭakhr (ST), whose peculiar Yazdigerd drachms are known from about regnal year 10 onwards. All three writers are probably correct that some of these coins were issued by Arabs, but the fact that they bear no obvious distinguishing features means that we should not regard them as *proper* Arab-Sasanian coinage but rather as late Sasanian coinage which *may* have been struck under Arab authority.[9] Nonetheless, three coins of this type should be mentioned, because they provide convincing evidence that the earliest proper Arab-Sasanian coinage is dated in the Yazdigerd and not the Hijrī era. These are Yazdigerd types without any Arabic inscriptions, all bearing the date 20, struck at DA (Dārābjird), WYHC (probably a mint in central Iraq and almost certainly not Arrajān)[10] and MY (probably Maysān).[11] Since Dārābjird was conquered by the Muslims in AH 22 at the earliest (then once again briefly lost), the date 20 on this coin could not possibly be

(8) Nikitin and Roth 1995, pp. 135-136, nos. 15-16, 19, 26-30. Their attempt to identify distinctive die engravers is extremely interesting. They have shown that their engraver B, whom they identify from coins of BN 19 and 20, including one year 20 example bearing *jayyid* in ObQ2 (thus an Arab issue), and GDM 20, may have worked both before and after the Arab conquest of Kirmān.

They have also shown that engraver A produced dies dated YE 20 for vastly dispersed mints: Maysān, Dārābjird, Marw and possibly Sīstān, as well as two mints in Kirmān province, BN and NAR. The work of this engraver is readily identified by the peculiar rendering of the beard, a style not found on any other drachms of Yazdigerd III or of any other Arab-Sasanian issues. If a single engraver was carving dies for mints so distantly located, then it would seem that the total production of these very early coins must have been minuscule, as substantiated by their present-day extreme rarity.

(9) Given that the Arab conquerors presumably permitted the continuation of Sasanian style coinage in Iran, there is no reason to deny that some of the later dated coins bearing the name of Yazdigerd may have been Arab issues. Such a phenomenon may be observed on numerous occasions, of which perhaps the most instructive commenced upon the transfer of late Mughal regions to either princely state or European colonial control in the second half of the 18th century. The mint of Murshidabad offers a typical example. After the British conquest, ordinary Mughal coins in the name of Shah Alam II and with Hijrī dates and regnal years continued to be struck from AH 1179-1205 (1765-1790), then with frozen date 1202 from 1790-1834, followed by British style issues in the name of William IV in 1835. Thus for nearly seventy years, that is from 1765 to 1834, purely Mughal types were struck in the name of Shah Alam II, who died in 1221/1806. Similar fictitious "Mughal" coinage was maintained at other British mints and in numerous princely states, in a few cases even longer than seventy years. Surely the Arabs could have instituted a similar policy, especially if their advisers perceived such a procedure as economically or monetarily profitable.

(10) For the interpretation of WYHC, see Appendix I.

(11) Nikitin and Roth 1995, pp. 134-136, nos. 1 and 13 (DA), 21 (WYHC) and 3-4 (MY).

an authentic Hijrī year.[12] It seems much more likely that these coins were struck during or very shortly after the year YE 20 (began 16 Shawwāl 30), thus immediately following the recapture of these cities by the armies of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in AH 29-30, possibly in conjunction with ʿAbd Allāh's successful conquest of Kirmān and Sīstān later in AH 30 (YE 19-20). As for the lack of Arabic on the year 20 coins of these three western mints, it is probable that at this juncture the Muslim conquerors had not yet established a coherent coinage policy. As we shall see, the first two decades of the Arab-Sasanian coinage, which I have termed the first and second phases, were characterised by conflicting developments at the various mints. It is therefore by no means surprising to see different policies adopted at different mints at the very beginning of the series. It appears that, in regard to coinage, the conquerors followed the purely pragmatic policy of leaving each local mint to its own devices, with the exception of a brief and ultimately unsuccessful attempt in YE 25 to unify much of the coinage. Moreover, it should never be forgotten that, except for the frozen year 20 coinage of SK (Sijistān), *all* Arab-Sasanian isues prior to YE 25 are exceedingly rare surviving examples of a minuscule coinage.

The three phases of the main series

Leaving aside any pre-YE 20 coinage and YE 20 coinage with no Arabic inscriptions that might have been produced under Arab authority, the main series of Arab-Sasanian coinage can be divided into three phases. In the **first** phase, which extended from roughly YE 20-30/AD 651-661/AH 31-41, all coins bore only the name of either Yazdigerd or Khusraw and nearly all were dated in the Yazdigerd era. During the **second** phase, which lasted roughly YE 30-39/AD 661-671/AH 41-50, there was a gradual, though incomplete, shift from the Khusraw or Yazdigerd name to the name of a Muslim governor, as well as from YE to Hijrī dating. In the **third** and final phase, roughly YE 40-72/AD 671-704/AH 50-85, virtually all coins bore the name of a governor or caliph and bore Hijrī rather than YE dates (except at the Dārābjird complex of mints, where YE dating remained the norm); there was also a gradually increasing use of a greater repertoire of obverse marginal inscriptions. Other changes over the course of each phase will be noted in the following analyses.

It should first be emphasised that the development of the Arab-Sasanian coinage is not just a simple progression through three phases, but a complex web of changes, blunders and experimentation that varied from mint to mint. Moreover, the entire period was one of political instability, in which Iraq and, especially, Iran were beset with all manner of both political and sectarian insurrections, of which the second *fitna* ("civil war", AH 61-73) is only the most renowned. Throughout Iran, Muslim control must have been quite tenuous and would presumably have been exercised over the mints by Arabs largely unfamiliar with the Persian language and Persian administrative practice. To judge by the similarity of Arab-Sasanian and late Sasanian coinage, mint administration and production surely remained in Persian hands. There is little evidence of significant central direction over the coinage until after the appointment of al-Ḥajjāj to both Baṣra and Kūfa in 75, except on the single occasion of the establishment of a shortlived uniform coinage at all mints outside Kirmān and Sīstān in YE 25 (AH 36-37), a process that only lasted for six years. That the weight and fineness standard of the drachm was maintained with remarkable precision can be attributed not to the projection of Muslim control from Iraq or Damascus but rather to the necessities of the market and the long-standing tradition of a stable silver currency in Iran (see the section on Metrology). After all, the primary function of the Arab-Sasanian drachm was to act as a means of payment or exchange, a function that would have been seriously compromised by any degradation of the weight and fineness standards.

First phase (1)

Drachms of the first phase consist of coins bearing the name of either Yazdigerd or Khusraw, normally dated in the YE era, known from at least 25 different mints. There is little variation in ornamentation, and very few marks or symbols in the obverse or reverse margin. They differ from similarly dated coins of Yazdigerd III and Khusraw II by the addition of an Arabic phrase in ObQ2 (with the few exceptions noted below), most often بسم الله (*bism allāh*, "in the name of God"), though جيد (*jayyid*, "good") appears on a few of the earliest issues. Although coinage of this phase is relatively static, there is some development and there are a few unresolved matters of detail that are worth noting here.

Yazdigerd types

The earliest coins, bearing the year 20 and most probably struck during or very shortly after the conclusion of that year, all bear the name of Yazdigerd. There are three subgroups: the first subgroup bears no Arabic legend at all (thus not truly part of the first phase coinage), and was struck at MY, WYHC and DA, as already observed. A second subgroup bears Arabic *jayyid* in the margin and was struck at MY,[13] as well as at two of the Kirmān provincial mints, BN and NAR, and at MR (Marw) in Khurāsān.[14] The third subgroup bears *bism allāh* and was struck principally at SK (Sijistān), together with a few coins struck at NAR.[15] Thus

(12) The dates of the conquest are disputed. Hinds has recently shown that the foundation of the *miṣr* at Tawwaj probably took place in AH 21 and certainly no earlier. As he explains, the conquest of Dārābjird would then have taken place no earlier than 22 and more likely in 23 (Hinds 1997, pp. 218-222).

(13) ANS 1986.126.12, unpublished. Attributions of these mint abbreviations may be found in the section on mints.

(14) The use of جيد in the obverse margin on the first Muslim coins of Marw is undoubtedly due to the fact that the city was captured by a Muslim army sent out from Kirmān rather than from Sīstān. Only *bism allāh* was used at Sīstān, whereas *jayyid* was placed on the earliest issues at the mints in Kirmān province. Nikitin and Roth (1995) have shown that the *jayyid* dies of Marw and Kirmān were manufactured by the same engraver, whereas those of Sīstān were produced by others, with the possible exception of a single die, used on their coin no. 6 (not illustrated).

(15) For the NAR coin with *bism allāh*, Naqshabandi 3 (p.40). There is also a coin in the name of Khusraw from BN dated YE 25, with *bism allāh* in the margin, which I believe to represent a temporary or experimental issue intended perhaps to conform with other mints that became active in western Iran and Iraq in or just before year 25. Although this mint reverted to the use of the frozen year 20 on several later issues, we cannot determine whether the *jayyid* issues, always

there were seven mints in all that seem to have operated from the very outset of the Arab-Sasanian coinage (aside from these three groups, there exists a drachm of BYŠ with year 20, but it is clearly a much later production, probably of Sīstānī origin from the early eighth century).[16]

The mints of BN, NAR and SK kept the year 20 as a frozen year and the name of Yazdigerd for at least a couple of years (about fifteen years in the case of SK), retaining their respective Arabic marginal inscriptions. Given their extreme rarity, the western mints of year 20 with no Arabic must have been an ephemeral issue; the two sub-issues of MY 20 were undoubtedly sequential, first with plain margin, then with *jayyid*.[17] It is only at Marw that we observe a continuous series of authentically dated early coins, commencing with a Yazdigerd type in 20 and followed by Khusraw types (with *bism allāh*) beginning in 22 (or possibly 21), and extending until at least YE 26.[18] The latter type, with the name of Khusraw, thenceforth became the standard type of the first phase, except in Sīstān, where the Yazdigerd type with frozen date 20 was perpetuated; the Kirmān provincial mints appear to have replaced the name of Yazdigerd with that of Khusraw at some time in the early 20s of the Yazdigerd era, but virtually always with the frozen year 20. With a few exceptions, all of these later Yazdigerd issues bear *bism allāh* in ObQ2.

Khusraw types

The Khusraw type, as the coins bearing the name of Khusraw and with *bism allāh* in the obverse margin are termed, is known with dates between YE 22 and 39, plus a few from mints in Kirmān province with frozen year 20. In my opinion, the great majority of these coins bear authentic Yazdigerd years. Prior to the year 25, which commenced on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 35 and thus corresponds closely to AH 36, there are very few known coins. Those known to me are MR and ŠY for 22, AYR and MR for 23, and WH and ŠY for 24. At least 15 mints, located throughout Iraq and Iran, are known from the year 25, the first year in which Khusraw type coins are relatively common. Thereafter, there follows a long series of Khusraw type coins, known from at least 25 mints, bearing every year from 26 through 39. To be sure, not every year is known for every mint: for the years 38 and 39, only a single mint is known for each, NY (probably Nihāwand) and "YARY" (unlocated) respectively. Certain other years, such as 34 and 36, are sparsely represented. In all, from 22 to 39, nearly 100, if not more, different mint/date combinations can be traced, some of which are now known in reasonably large quantities. Additional dates continue to be discovered with remarkable frequency.[19]

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dated 20, were entirely struck prior to year 25 or were briefly resumed thereafter. The Yazdigerd type NAR 20 with *bism allāh* may also belong to this "experiment" and thus must have been struck around the year 25. However, it seems more likely to be somewhat earlier, coinciding with the replacement of *jayyid* by *bism allāh*, which I believe to have occurred around the year YE 22 or 23.

There are a few rare drachms of SK of the Yazdigerd type with dates later than 20, such as a coin of year 26 in Paris (1965.430). It is most likely that these were not a separate series but the result of the actual year being inadvertently used instead of the frozen year 20. In 1957, Miles published coins of SK with *bism allāh rabbī*, on which he read the date as 28. Both are in fact ordinary SK 48 coins, on which the C of CHL is written as a straight vertical line; moreover, the final letter is clearly R or L, not T (Miles 1957, p. 191, nos. 4-5).

(16) Paris 1968.188.

(17) There exists a unique Yazdigerd III type drachm of ST (Iṣṭakhr), with no Arabic inscriptions and clearly dated year 20, but apparently with a beardless bust, a feature otherwise attested only on coins of regnal years 1-11 (Tyler-Smith 2000, no. 166). The style is rather unusual is other respects, such as the shape of the star-and-crescents in the margins. Thus the coin is likely to be some sort of undetermined imitation.

(18) A drachm of MR 22 is in the Warden-Album collection, with clear date DWAJWYST (sic). Walker published a drachm which he regarded as year 21 (p.5, ETN.1), but the year looks much more like SYCWYST for 23, given that the initial stroke is very short and the third stroke noticeably curved, whereas if it were part of the letter A of YACWYST for 21, it would be straight and would face directly upwards.

(19) The following chart shows the Khusraw types with *bism allāh* known to me from Walker, the Warden-Album collection, the Malek collection, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the American Numismatic Society. Undoubtedly, additional examples which I have not recorded have appeared in sale and auction catalogues. Only those with YE dates are included. Mints in the Baṣran prefecture:

ART 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31

BN 25

BYŠ 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, (32?)

DA 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31

DP 30

MR 22, 23, 25, 26, 32

MY 25, 26, 29

ST 26 (with *bism allāh / rabbī*), 28, 31, 33

ŠY 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35

Mints in the Kūfan prefecture:

AHM 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35

AW 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34

AYR 23, 25, 26, 27, 35, 37

AYRAN 25, 32

BYW 25, 30, 35, 37

GD 25, 26, 29, 32, 35, 37

GW 30, 33, 35

NY 25, 29, 30, 31, 35, 38

PR 25, 29, 35

RD 28, 29, 32, 35

WH 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37

WYH 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37

Also known are the following unlocated mints:

AB (or AY) 23, 24, 26 (possibly pseudo-dated)

APR 32

BŠ 27

DR 26 (with *bism allāh* or *bism allāh / rabbī*)

RYW 25, 33 (clearly RYW rather than BYW)

WYHC (23?), (35?), 36

"YARY" 39

Most of the coins of Baṣran mints dated between 33 and 37 are, in my opinion, either dated with a Hijrī year or are questionable issues; these are discussed in the following paragraphs of the main text.

The DR 26 and ST 26 drachms with *bism allāh / rabbī* may or may not belong to the second phase anonymous series of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān that normally bears that phrase in the obverse margin. It is also

There are two additional series with the Khusraw legend, those with لله, *lillāh* ("for God"), in ObQ2, treated in a separate section after the main series, and those with بسم الله ربي, *bism allāh rabbī* ("in the name of God, my Lord"), in the margin, which normally belongs to the second phase and will be discussed later under that rubric.[20]

Some years ago, I began to question the received wisdom that *all* of the Khusraw type drachms were dated in the Yazdigerd era, suspecting that some dates in the 30s might actually be Hijrī dates. The resulting inquiry led me to the tentative conclusion that during the second phase, to be discussed in detail below, there was a clear distinction between the coins of those mints which were within the Kūfan jurisdiction and those within the Baṣran. I first presented these ideas at a symposium at Tübingen in 1993, and have recently slightly revised that paper with the intention of publishing it in the *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* in 2002 or 2003. In that paper, I came to the conclusion that some rare Khusraw type drachms bear Hijrī dates. These are drachms of šy (two types, one with *jayyid*, the other with *bism allāh*) and probably st dated 33, coins of art, byš, šy dated 35 (but probably not the issue of st dated 35), and perhaps a coin of art dated 36 that I have not had the opportunity to examine personally. There are also coins of art, byš and šy dated 37 that should either be dated in the Hijrī year, or more likely, due to their deviant style, be regarded as imitations or anomalous issues. All of these coins were struck at Baṣran mints—the unlocated mint of šy must have been located somewhere within the triangle formed by Yazd, Kirmān and Shīrāz, and is thus affiliated with Baṣra. There are no other Khusraw type coins of known Baṣran mints struck after the year YE 31 (began 15 Ṣafar 42), save for a rather peculiar drachm of Bīshāpūr dated 32, as well as a normal style drachm of apr also dated 32. The first is possibly an imitation, the second problematic because of uncertainty about the identification of the mint apr at that time.[21]

Let me briefly summarise my reasons for assigning these coins to Hijrī years. For the year 33, the first of two šy issues bears *jayyid* in the margin, a feature characteristic of the very earliest Arab-Sasanian drachms and altogether inconsistent with production in YE 33/AH 44. Aside from this coin, the use of *jayyid* in the obverse margin instead of *bism allāh* is restricted to the coins of bn, nar, da and mr dated 20, though issues of the first two of these mints may well have been struck after YE 20 with a frozen date. However, given the rarity of the bn and nar coins with *jayyid*, I believe that their production did not last long after YE 20 and they were soon afterwards replaced by the *bism allāh* type, still with frozen date 20, probably during or very close to YE 22/AH 33. It seems logical that the transition from *jayyid* to *bism allāh* on the 33-dated coins of šy ought to have taken place at about the same time as the change at bn and nar, thus in YE 22, whence 33 must be a Hijrī year.[22] The other coin dated 33, from the idiosyncratic mint of Iṣṭakhr, is rather less certain and merits further investigation, as does the entire coinage of this enigmatic mint.

For the year 35 the coin most relevant to my argument is the drachm of Bīshāpūr, which bears a pellet after *bism allāh*, as is normally also found on Khusraw coins dated 25, whereas coins of this mint struck between 26 and 32 lack the pellet (except for a few extremely rare issues dated 30, which I suspect might be the result of some old obverse dies restored to use during YE 30). The pelleted byš 25 coins are very common, those of byš 35 not especially rare, and it would seem logical to place the two together (AH 35 corresponds very closely to YE 24). They are also stylistically identical, and significantly different in style from the well-known Bīshāpūr coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir dated 44 and 47 (which can only be Hijrī dates). Moreover, if 35 were a Yazdigerd year, the issue would fall between the identical 44 and 47 coins of ʿAbd Allāh, the year YE 35 having commenced on 29 Rabīʿ I 46. I would regard such a reversion to a nameless type that had last been used ten years previously as highly improbable, despite the turbulent political situation in much of Fārs during the decade of the Hijrī 40s. The coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir are discussed in conjunction with the second phase, as are my reasons for believing that coins of a different type were unlikely to have been struck at Bīshāpūr between the issues of 44 and 47.

The drachm of Ardashīr Khurra 35 is rather similar in style to the pelleted coins of Bīshāpūr, though it lacks the pellet after *bism allāh*, which is found only at Bīshāpūr and never at Ardashīr Khurra; nonetheless, because of stylistic similarity, the year 35 is more likely a Hijrī than a Yazdigerd year. The šy 35 drachm is of similar workmanship to the šy 33 drachms, with *bism allāh* in the margin, thus probably dated with a Hijrī year as well.[23] As for the

possible that these year 26 coins are mulings of normal *bism allāh / rabbī* dies from the time of Ziyād with old reverse dies of Khusraw II, similar to the year 26 coins described in the section on ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

(20) There are later Khusraw types with just *bism allāh* in the margin or with *bism allāh rabbī*. The former are probably all irregular issues or special types, such as Walker ANS.2, which has a crude date that is perhaps intended for šst (60), but which Walker suggested might be dated 38; the mint name is crudely engraved though clearly intended for byš. The latter all bear the sk mintmark or some degenerate imitation thereof and belong to the later Sīstān series, which is briefly discussed in the section on later Sīstān coinage.

(21) The coin was published by Ilisch in Peus Auktion 363, lot 5449. Another specimen was in the Warden-Album collection. The abbreviation apr is normally identified as Abarshahr (Nīshāpūr) in Khurāsān, thus Baṣran, but Ilisch assigned it to southern Iraq, perhaps associating it with Abarqubādh near Baṣra. The other coins cited in this paragraph are given full references in the still unpublished article based on my 1993 Tübingen paper.

(22) The term *jayyid* is virtually never used on Arab-Sasanian coinage after YE 22/AH 33. The only two examples of the main series known to me are two issues of ʿAṭīya b. al-Aswad, one struck at the uncertain mint krman-wan and dated AH 75 (cat. 330), the other of krman-nar also dated AH 75 (Peus, 26 April 2000, lot 5599). Both have *jayyid* in ObQ3. The term is also found on a later Sīstān coin of Class III, dated by Sears to the early or middle part of the 2nd/8th century (Sears 1996a, no. 40; *jayyid* is clear in the photograph and properly discussed, but mistakenly written as šl, in the description).

Walker also described a coin of st 7(6?) of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra on which *jayyid* was added as graffiti (Walker 1941, p. 115, no. B-37).

(23) The sequence of coinage at šy is confusing. The earliest is surely the AH 33 coin with *jayyid* in the margin, followed by a coin of the same date with *bism allāh* instead of *jayyid* (Warden-Album collection). This is followed in turn by a unique *bism allāh* coin dated YE

Iṣṭakhr coin of 35, I am inclined to regard it as authentically dated in the Yazdigerd era (thus AH 46-47), which would not be surprising in view of the idiosyncratic coinage of that mint.[24] The date can plausibly be regarded as a Yazdigerd year, in view of the fact that the only other coin known from Iṣṭakhr between the ᶜAbd Allāh issue of year 42 and the *bism allāh rabbī* issue of 48 is an anomalous *bism allāh rabbī* coin dated AH 44.[25] If the date is truly YE 35, then this coin is perhaps indicative either of some sort of rebellion in that district or of a temporary administrative reassignment of the district to the Kūfan prefecture—the district of Iṣṭakhr directly abutted the southeastern boundary of the Kūfan prefecture.[26]

For the year 37 coins of all three mints, ART, BYŠ and ŠY, exhibit strange features. The first two differ markedly from both the year 37 Khusraw type drachms of Kūfan mints and from contemporary (circa year 48) Hijrī dated drachms of the same mints (except for ŠY, which is not known for the years around AH 48). However, a more thorough comparison of specimens of these three coin types with related contemporary drachms should be undertaken before one can be sure that these are indeed anomalous coins. My own intuition suggests that the ART and BYŠ coins are anomalous coins whose mints and dates are probably not authentic, whereas the ŠY 37 coin is possibly authentically dated in the Hijrī era, as I have already deemed probable for drachms of this exceptional mint dated 33 and 35.

If indeed these Baṣran coins of 33-37 bear Hijrī years (except those of "37" noted as probably anomalous, and that of ST 35), then we are confronted with a group of Hijrī dated drachms from Baṣran mints that fall between the Yazdigerd year 20 coins with no Arabic and the well-attested coins of numerous mints bearing the year YE 25. In other words, coinage throughout the Baṣran prefecture, including southern Iraq, Fārs, Kirmān, Sīstān and Khurāsān, commenced in YE 20, with at least ten mints operating prior to YE 25.[27] The same is not true of the Kūfan prefecture, where the earliest attested coin is a drachm of the Khusraw type with *bism allāh* struck at AYR in YE 23 and at WH in YE 24, followed in YE 25 by issues at numerous other mints.[28]

However, as I concede in my forthcoming *ONS* paper, there remain numerous unanswered questions, as well as several coins that deviate from the main pattern. Much additional work is needed before these loose ends are tied up. Perhaps the most fruitful approach would be to assemble a die corpus for all the Khusraw and Yazdigerd types, on the order of the die corpus of Būyid coins recently compiled by Treadwell (2001). In particular, one should look for die-links between different dates and between different mints; a die-link between two mints is confirmed for WH 27 and WYH 29, which share a common obverse die.[29] An attempt to identify the work of individual engravers, as in Nikitin and Roth 1995, might also be fruitful. Until such research has been carried out, it will be difficult to move forward from the level of hypothesis to the level of confidence.

Second phase (2): Baṣran prefecture

Two historical events provide the chronological boundaries of the second phase. It begins in AH 41, shortly after the accession of Muᶜāwiya as the first Umayyad caliph, upon his appointment of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir as governor of Baṣra and of al-Mughīra b. Shuᶜba as governor of Kūfa. Its end, dated to AH 50, is marked by the assumption of the governorship of Kūfa by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, who had already been governor of Baṣra since early in the year 45. During these nine years, Kūfa was governed by al-Mughīra, whereas Baṣra was governed first by Ibn ᶜĀmir (41-44), then for about four months by al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd Allāh (44-45, no coins), then by Ziyād (45-50, then as governor of both prefectures until his death in 53). It thus comes as no surprise that during this period, the coinages of the two governorates pursue markedly different trajec-

22 at Paris (1971.93); since YE 22 commenced on 9 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 32, the coin ought to have been struck in the latter part of AH 33. The next two issues are *bism allāh* types with YE 24 (commenced 30 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 34) and with AH 35; the sequence of these two is unknown.

The Paris coin has escaped detection because the ticket accompanying the coin in the trays of the Cabinet des Médailles bears the incorrect date 26! However, the date is clearly and indisputably DWACWYST, with the full form of the initial D, i.e., with *two* loops instead of one. The original cataloguer seems to have confused this with ŠWNCWYST , a conceivable form of 26, though every Arab-Sasanian coin of year 26 that I have observed bears the form ŠŠWYST.

(24) Both the Yazdigerd III and the Arab-Sasanian coinage of Iṣṭakhr (ST) exhibit a variety of stylistic and epigraphic peculiarities unseen at other mints. A detailed study of the ST coinage should prove to be a fascinating and fruitful investigation.

(25) Paris 1965.458. The date is very clearly CHARCHL.

(26) The style of the ST 35 coins is quite consistent with that of Kūfan mints dated in or about year 35, a further reason to regard the date as YE rather then AH. Cf. Naqshabandi 1969, no. 5 (p.43).

(27) Although all of the coins are noted in previous pages, here is a list of known coins from the Basra region struck YE 20-24. Hijrī years are indicated in bold; AH 33 and 35 are approximately equivalent to YE 22 and 24, respectively. Coins of BN, NAR, and SK dated YE 20 were struck both in that year and subsequently with frozen date; YE 20 coins of other mints are presumed to have been struck only within that year. AH 33 and 35 correspond closely to YE 22 and 24 respectively.

ART **35**

BN 20

BYŠ **35**

DA 20

MR 20, 22, 23

MY 20

NAR 20

SK 20

ST **33** (uncertain if year is AH or YE)

ŠY **33**, 20, **35**, 24 (sequence uncertain)

There is also a coin of WYHC 20, whose location is uncertain, but could possibly be Arrajān in Fārs.

(28) Both AYR 23 and WH 24 were represented in the Warden-Album collection. The first appears to be unique at present, but I have handled several examples of WH 24, none of which appear to have been published. I have illustrated an example of WH 24 in my pricelist no. 173.

(29) Both specimens in the Warden-Album collection, from the second acquired portion of the year 72 hoard, as yet unpublished (first portion is Album 1992).

tories, as I have argued in much detail in my forthcoming *ONS* paper.

ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir b. Kurayz

The key to understanding the second phase lies in the coinage of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, who was briefly governor of Kūfa in 41, then governor of Baṣra 41-44. His coinage consists of two successive groups, one with just the name ᶜAbd Allāh (APDWLA), the other with his full name including the patronymic (usually APDWLA Y AMWRAN). In the Pahlavi script, the words APDWLA and AWSRWY (ᶜAbd Allāh and Khusraw, respectively), resemble one another sufficiently closely that the difference would likely have escaped the casual user, to whom both types would have the look and feel of an authentic coin. Only upon close examination can the two legends be distinguished.[30]

Coins bearing the simple name APDWLA are known from at least eleven mints, of which just one is located in the Kūfan prefecture, WH (Veh-Ardashir, close to Kūfa), with a date that is more likely 41 than 43 (Walker also read the date as 41).[31] This is not really surprising, for during the year 41 ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir was very briefly governor of Kūfa before being transferred down to Baṣra, at which time he was replaced at Kūfa by al-Mughīra.[32] It cannot be determined whether orders were ever issued to other mint towns of the Kūfan prefecture to adopt the APDWLA type; no such coins are known. All contemporary coins of other Kūfan mints retain the standard Khusraw and *bism allāh* legends of the first phase.

Soon after Ibn ᶜĀmir took up his post in Baṣra, he set out at the head of a large force to restore Umayyad control over Fārs and other districts of the Baṣran prefecture. While there was no coinage at the cities of Baṣra and Kūfa prior to the third phase, we do have coins from mints in Fārs and Kirmān with just the name APDWLA. The earliest issues are dated 42, surely a Hijrī date, and were struck at four mints in Fārs. At all four of these mints, Ardashīr Khurra, Bīshāpūr, Iṣṭakhr and ŠY, the date is unconventionally written as CHYLTRYN, i.e., with the word for 'forty' placed before the word for 'two', a reversal of the normal sequence that is never found in the Sasanian coinage nor on any other Arab-Sasanian coinage of the main series. There is also a year 42 coin struck at Ardashīr Khurra bearing the normal spelling of the year, DWCHL.[33]

The only coins with the name legend APDWLA and the year 43 are those of the Dārābjird mints DA and DP, as well as a single issue of YZ.[34] The reading of the date on the Dārābjird types has long been debated, with one camp favouring YACHL for 41, the other SYCHL for 43. I have chosen 43 for two principal reasons. To begin with, the first two strokes are almost always curved, as is the third, which connects to the following C; this fits better with SY than with YA. Secondly, Ibn ᶜĀmir did not begin his reconquest of Fārs until the beginning of the year 42, and the district of Dārābjird was at the remote end of that vast province, adjacent to the Kirmān province further to the east. Evidence for control of that district by ᶜAbd Allāh in 41 is lacking.

It is appropriate at this juncture to note that the year 43 remained a frozen date on the coinage of Dārābjird for about thirteen years, from AH 43-56. Successive issues bore the names of ᶜAbd Allāh, ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, Khusraw, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Samura b. Jundab, Muᶜāwiya and ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, in that sequence. All have a pair of the characteristic triplets of pellets flanking the bottom star-and-crescent in the obverse margin. Mochiri assigned all these coins to YE 41 (AH 52-53), reading YACHL for 41 instead of SYCHL for 43. He cited them as evidence for Khārijite activities in Fārs, as a "sign of endemic disorders in that region", naïvely assuming that various undetermined and undoubtedly undeterminable factions each struck coins with identical date and mint but in the name of a different person, some deceased, some still alive.[35] On the contrary, when viewed in the context of historical circumstances and contemporary coins that are authentically dated, it is readily apparent that the year 43 was simply maintained as a frozen date. Walker skirted this issue, though he also regarded all of the dates as year 41 and placed the issue of Muᶜāwiya in AH 41, the year of his accession.[36] The first correct interpretation of the frozen

(30) The following list is based on Walker, together with additional coins in Paris, ANS, the Warden-Album and the Malek collections:

ᶜAbd Allāh	ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAmir
ART 42	ART 47
BN **20**	BBA 44
BYŠ 42, 44	BN *30*
DA **43**	BYŠ *34*, 43, 44, 47
DAP **43**	DA **43**
DP **43**	DP **43**
NAR **20**, 42, 48	NAR **20**
ŠY 42, (*50* or *35*)	YZ 44, 47
ST 42	
WH 41, 42	
YZ (43?)	

Bold dates are frozen, italic dates are questionable or uncertain.

(31) Walker 1941, p. 51, no. B.10, with the name read as NH and assigned to Nihāwand. The mint signature is now accepted as WH, quite securely interpreted as Veh-Ardashir near al-Kūfa. The date seems to be YACHL, as the first tooth is curved and the second and third straight, as would be expected for YAC. If so, this is the last use of YAC for "one"; all coins of 51, 61, 71 and 81 have AYWKW or a variation thereof, save for a few very rare issues of ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad dated 71, on which the date is written YHFTAT.

(32) Walker 1941, p. xxx.

(33) Of the four types with the unusual date CHYLTRYN, the coin of Ardashīr Khurra was published by Mochiri (1986, no. 17—he misread the date as AYLTAN for a word meaning "humility", an impossibility, as his reading ignores the initial, clearly engraved letter C). Coins of the remaining three mints of this type, together with the DWCHL coin of Ardashīr Khurra, are all in the Warden-Album collection. None of these four appear to have been published, though Mordtmann made a reference to a Bīshāpūr specimen in the Subhi Pasha collection, but this was rejected by Walker; the coin is neither illustrated nor fully described (Walker 1941, p. 49, no. M.30).

(34) Walker 1941, p. 50, nos. 74, Th.9 and I.22 for DA and DP, p. 52, no. SHM.1 for YZ. Walker misread the latter mint as Zaranj and treated all dates as 41.

(35) Mochiri 1986, pp. 52-53.

(36) Walker 1941, p. cxvii.

year 43 was established by DeShazo, who has kindly allowed me to refer to his still unpublished article.

The next issue of Ibn ᶜĀmir bears the year 44 and was apparently struck only at Bīshāpūr, once again with just the name APDWLA, apparently an exceedingly rare issue. This was the last normal issue with that legend at any mint, though it is possible that issues with frozen dates, such as the year 43 types of the Dārābjird district mints, remained equally long in production. In the same year (if not, as I will later suggest, at the very end of 43), the patronymic was added above that word, so that APDWLA appears closest to the margin, Y AMWRAN closest to the bust;[37] this arrangement suggests that the patronymic may in some cases have been added to dies already engraved with just APDWLA (second issue). It would not surprise me were such an altered die to be discovered. Later in the year 44, the two parts of the legend were reversed, so that the legend reads from the bust outwards, the order that would characterise every subsequent Arab-Sasanian drachm (third issue).[38]

Until recently, the first patronymic type, with Y AMYRAN above APDWLA, was known only from Bīshāpūr (dated AH 44), but I now know of a similar type from the military camp mint BBA, also dated 44.[39] This is the earliest known example of that mint that bears a Hijrī date. The location of BBA at this time is unknown; it could have been located virtually anywhere within the Baṣran prefecture.

There is also an extremely rare drachm of Bīshāpūr clearly dated SYCHL for 43; this is the earliest confirmed issue that bears the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, in what I have already described as the second issue of 44, with the patronymic above ᶜAbd Allāh.[40] How can this issue be reconciled with the various emissions of the following year, 44, given that the first 44 issue lacks the patronymic? It seems most logical that the rare 43 issue might be a muling of a proper obverse of mid-44 with the initial version of the patronymic together with an old year 43 reverse die. Muling was commonplace at Bīshāpūr, as is perhaps best indicated by the coinage of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān struck between 49 and 51, where examples dated 49 follow the named type of 50-54 and examples dated 51 the anonymous Khusraw type of 47-50.

However, no other coins are known of BYŠ 43, though as already noted, there does exist a rare plain ᶜAbd Allāh issue dated 42, the year in which Ibn ᶜĀmir reconquered the region, which had been lost during the first *fitna*. Given that no specimen of the simple ᶜAbd Allāh type dated 43 is currently known, production, if it even existed, must have been minimal. In that case, any reverse dies bearing the date 43 might have survived well into the following year, late enough to be used for the middle issue, the patronymic type with the father's name closest to the bust.

The plain ᶜAbd Allāh type dated 44 is also extremely rare,[41] sufficiently rare that it could easily be regarded as a muling with a leftover obverse type, possibly from the rare issue dated 42. If this is correct, as it seems to be, I would be inclined to believe that Ibn ᶜĀmir introduced the patronymic type at Bīshāpūr very late in the year 43. Since we know that Muᶜāwiya dismissed him late in the year 44, it follows that he utilised the patronymic type for just about one year. This is an immensely important event, for it was the first Islamic coin of any sort to clearly bear the name of a living person, be he caliph, governor or administrator. The use of just ᶜAbd Allāh was ambivalent, for, as already noted, it could be interpreted as merely "Slave of God" without reference to a particular individual. The addition of the patronymic clinches the inscription as the governor's name.

The standard patronymic coinage of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir consists of just seven issues in Fārs, those dated 44 from Bīshāpūr and Yazd, those of 47 from Bīshāpūr, Yazd and Ardashīr Khurra, as well as both DA and DP issues with frozen year 43, all with the patronymic arranged in the normal pattern.[42] There are also two issues from Kirmān, NAR with frozen date 20 and BN with the puzzling date 30.[43] This seems to have been a moderately large coinage and specimens from the mints in Fārs are not particularly rare nowadays. There is, however, a disconcerting problem, for Ibn ᶜĀmir was dismissed late in the year 44, replaced briefly by al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd Allāh, then by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, who had already served as Ibn ᶜĀmir's deputy in Fārs.[44] Ziyād was certainly installed by the middle of 45, so how can we explain the coins of 47 still in the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir? Although there is no such indication in the sources, it is of course possible that Ibn ᶜĀmir retained some powers as a local governor in Fārs and Kirmān after his dismissal from Baṣra.

Alternatively, it is also possible that Ziyād willingly accepted the perpetuation of Ibn ᶜĀmir's name on the coinage, perhaps because his own father was unknown (he was known as Ziyād b. Abīhi, "son of his father"); the latter assumption would be consistent with the restoration of anonymous Khusraw coinage by Ziyād during the years 47-50, the *bism allāh rabbī* series, as well as with the *bism allāh al-mālik* issue to be discussed below. The second

(37) The letter following M in AMWRAN is clearly W and not Y. It consists of a single descending link following the M, thus identical to the W in the names Muṣᶜab (MWCAP) and Muhallab (MWHALP); moreover, it is not connected to the following R, as is Y when it appears in the Pahlavi transliteration of the word Amīr (AMYR). Apparently, the short 'i' of ᶜĀmir was interpreted by Iranians as the sound 'u' for reasons that remain obscure.

(38) The three issues of Bīshāpūr 44 are Walker 73 (p.50), 69 (p.47) and 68 (p.47), respectively.

(39) In the Malek collection. It is well engraved and clearly not an imitation.

(40) Paris 1969.887; there is a second specimen, with somewhat unclear date, in the Warden-Album collection.

(41) Walker 73 (p.50).

(42) For ART 47, Walker 67 (p.47); BYŠ 44, Walker 68 (p.47); DA 43, Walker Th.7 (p.48); DP 43, Walker 70 (p.48); the rest in the Warden/Album collection.

(43) Walker ETN.10 (p.49, assigned to Nahr Tīrā) and 72 (p. 48, as "uncertain mint"), respectively.

(44) Ṭabarī says that Ibn ᶜĀmir was dismissed towards the end of AH 44 and replaced by al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd Allāh at the beginning of 45. Al-Ḥārith was in turn replaced four months later, still in 45, by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (*Between Civil Wars: the Caliphate of Muᶜāwiya*, = *Tārīkh al-rusūl wa'l-mulūk*, English translation, v.18, SUNY, 1987, p. 76).

explanation seems to carry greater weight. Moreover, it fits well with what was occurring in Kūfa, where the governor, al-Mughīra, retained the ordinary Khusraw type throughout his appointment. Thus Ziyād must have rejected the placement of his own name on his coinage, despite his having been adopted as the brother of the caliph during the year 44, just prior to his nomination. He may have briefly toyed with the concept of placing his name and patronymic on a rare issue of Bīshāpūr dated 47, but there is also the possibility that this 47 issue is nothing but a muling (see discussion in the second section on Ziyād).

It seems clear that the formal preference during the second phase was anonymous coinage. Only Ibn ᶜĀmir violated this tradition and only for about one year, though his named type was retained for about three years after his departure.

To return to the coinage of Ibn ᶜĀmir, why are there no coins of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir dated either 45 or 46? Most probably the mints of Bīshāpūr and Yazd simply adopted 44 as a frozen date, just as Dārābjird had done in the previous year, and as every other mint still operating within the Baṣran prefecture was doing, whether in Fārs, Kirmān or Sīstān province.[45] It was only in the year 47, at the behest of Ziyād or his administration, that authentic dating was restored in Fārs, at three mints, Bīshāpūr, Yazd and Ardashīr Khurra.

In the following year (48), authentic dating was restored in Kirmān as well, for an extremely rare issue of NAR still in the name APDWLA,[46] and in Sīstān for a very common issue utilising the anonymous *bism allāh rabbī* Khusraw type of Ziyād. However, the year 48 of Sīstān was converted into a frozen date, for the next recorded date at that mint is 56. The extremely rare issues of the Kirmān mints may either have been struck during the year 48 itself or with a frozen year during the next several years. There are no coins known of any Kirmān province mint dated 49-51, and beginning in 52 actual dates were universally adopted within that province.

Before turning to the Baṣran coinage of the years 47-50, we should briefly note a few additional issues of Ibn ᶜĀmir. First of all, from the province of Kirmān, there exist types with the solitary name ᶜAbd Allāh from the mints of BN and NAR and types citing the patronymic just from the mint NAR. Although these bear the frozen year 20, it may be assumed that they were struck within the same time frame as authentically dated coins of similar types from other mints, i.e., circa 42-43 for the APDWLA type, 44-48 for the patronymic type.[47] Secondly, there is a rare patronymic drachm of BN clearly bearing the date 30, which cannot be explained; if it were a Yazdigerd date (began 4 Ṣafar 41), it would almost certainly fall before Ibn ᶜĀmir's conquest of Kirmān either late in 42 or early in 43, in any case well before the introduction of the patronymic version. Thirdly, there is a peculiar coin of BYŠ 34 with the patronymic, on which the year 34 is clearly written as CHRSY; this appears to be a Yazdigerd date (YE 34 began on 18 Rabīᶜ I 45), which would thus place the coin between the 44 and 47 issues.[48] Perhaps the die-engraver misinterpreted the order to retain the year 44 as an order to return to the use of Yazdigerd years, as was still the case at all mints in the Kūfan prefecture.

In a recent Sotheby auction there appeared a coin with the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir in Arabic and attributed to this ruler. I have determined that it is actually an issue of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī, for whom I have included a section under the third portion of the third phase (q.v.).

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, as governor of Baṣra only (AH 45-50)

During the years 45-50 the Baṣran prefecture remained under the control of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, though with a single exception, all of the coinage during this period lacks his name. The first normal drachm struck in that prefecture bore only the name of Khusraw and was struck at Bīshāpūr in 47, thus still in the same year as the last emission to bear the name of Ibn ᶜĀmir. However, it is distinguished by a new marginal legend in ObQ2 and ObQ3, / بسم الله الملك, *bism allāh al-mālik* ("in the name of God, the possessor") without indication of the long *alif* in *mālik* (مالك).[49] The last word can also be interpreted as *al-malik* without the long *alif*, but the former interpretation, yielding "in the name of God, the possessor [of everything]" seems more appropriate, given the concept of God as *mālik al-mulk*, "possessor of the kingdom" (Qur'ān 3:26).[50] The type seems only to have been struck for a few months during the year 47 and solely at Bīshāpūr, but is not at all uncommon, given the large number of recorded dies.[51]

(45) There were no mints known to have been operating at this time in either southern Iraq or Khurāsān.

(46) Walker Dam.3, p. 51. At such a late date the patronymic should have been included, but the coin is quite crude, with the mint signature very clumsily engraved, quite unlike the year 20 pieces and the later year 52-54 coins in the name of Ziyād or the 54 coins of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd. Thus this NAR 48 coin is probably an imitation or an unofficial issue.

(47) The coin of BN without patronymic is Walker Th.8 (p.50); NAR without is Walker Dam.2 (p.51); with patronymic is Walker ETN.10 (p.49).

(48) Warden-Album collection, apparently unique.

(49) There also exists an apparently unique coin of Ardashīr Khurra (ART) dated 47, also in the name of Khusraw, but with the obverse marginal inscription اعلى / بسم الله (*bism allāh / aᶜlā*).

(50) Mochiri 1986, p. 43; Mochiri correctly interpreted the marginal legend but interpreted the date as a Yazdigerd year and assigned the coin to the Khawārij. The *bism allāh al-mālik* coin said to be of year 45 (Walker ANS.3, p. 18) seems rather to be dated 50, though the illustration is not all that clear; if so, it is probably yet another muling from Bīshāpūr, in this case a year 50 reverse with an old obverse die otherwise known solely from 47.

(51) In addition to the BYŠ 47 drachm, I know of only one other occurrence of the phrase *bism allāh al-mālik*, on an apparently unique drachm of the Khusraw type, struck at ŠY and very clearly dated 28 (HŠTWYST) (British Museum 1970-3-4-2). The epigraphy of *bism allāh* is rather late, especially the short teeth used in *bism* and the format of the letter *hā* in *allāh*; for this reason I am inclined to regard the date, despite its clarity, as a careless mistake for 48.

The Khusraw type *bism allāh al-mālik* coin of Bīshāpūr with the alleged date 45 (Walker ANS.3) seems to be a slightly crudely struck coin. The date is more likely PNCSY for 35, which could be interpreted as a Yazdigerd year (began 29 Rabīᶜ I 46), though PNCAH for 50 is also a possibility. Many aspects of both obverse and reverse are somewhat

I consider it to be Ziyād's first anonymous type, prior to the common *bism allāh rabbī* type of 47-50.

The second issue of year 47, also bearing the name of Khusraw but with *bism allāh rabbī* in the margin, became the standard type for Ziyād while he was still governor of Baṣra, before he also received Kūfa. Coins of this type were struck at five mints, ART 47, BYŠ 47, 48, 49, 50, MY 48, 49, 50, SK 48, and YZ 47, 49; the type was never struck in the Kūfan prefecture, which remained under the control of al-Mughīra throughout this period.[52]

As for chronology, the first issue of 47 was undoubtedly that of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, the second the *bism allāh al-mālik* type, the third the *bism allāh rabbī* type. Since all three types are moderately common, it is likely that all three were produced for several months each.

There is also a fourth type of the year 47, in the name of Ziyād (ZYYAT Y ABWSWPAN) and with *bism allāh rabbī* in the obverse margin.[53] I believe that the Ziyād issue represents a straightforward attempt to replace the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir with that of Ziyād, presumably before Ziyād's officials had expressed their opposition to placing Ziyād's name on the coinage, or at least before that news might have reached Bīshāpūr. If so, then the issue should have preceded the *bism allāh al-mālik* issue. On the other hand, it is possible that this type might have been a muling of a typical 50-54 obverse die with an old year 47 reverse. However, given that this issue is only moderately rare—more than one obverse die is known—and that no coins with the name of Ziyād are known of 48 and just a single specimen of 49, the concept that the 47 issue is a post-50 muling should be regarded as highly unlikely.

The Khusraw type of the Dārābjird mints, still retaining frozen year 43 but without *rabbī* after *bism allāh*, was presumably also struck during this interval. No other coins can confidently be assigned to the Baṣran mints during this three-year interval, whence it can readily be assumed that the *bism allāh rabbī* Khusraw type coinage was indeed issued by Ziyād. For Sīstān we have only the year 48, which was probably retained as a frozen year; this type was maintained until the next issue, the year 56 type in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

Somewhat perplexing is the anonymous Khusraw type drachm of Sīstān with *bism allāh rabbī* and the date 45, which is clear and indisputable on several die-different specimens.[54] It is certainly possible that the authorities in Sīstān, anticipating Ziyād's reluctance to place his own name on the coinage, instigated this coinage on their own initiative, and that the type was later adopted by Ziyād's officials for all mints under his authority in AH 47, as noted in the previous paragraphs. An alternative explanation is that Sīstān reckoned with solar "Hijrī" years. However, if reckoned from 1 Muḥarram 1 (=16 July 622), the 45th solar year would have extended from 8 Jumādā I 46 to 17 Jumādā I 47, somewhat too early to fit with the commencement of the *bism allāh rabbī* type relatively late in 47. It is also possible that the year 45 coinage is actually a later emission, perhaps part of Sears' Class II, bearing a stylised date of undetermined origin, as found on the drachms of Sīstān with DWM in ObQ1, which was likely to have been struck sometime in the 60s, though not later than 72 (see the section on later Sīstān drachms). This matter remains unresolved, but does not constitute an obstacle to the general outline described here, given the rarity of the year 45 coins compared to the common issues of 20, 48 and 56.

Another interesting drachm of the same type, struck at Iṣṭakhr and dated 44, might suggest a direction for further investigation, if it is not merely a muling of a *bism allāh rabbī* obverse with an old year 44 reverse.[55] Given that no other coins of Iṣṭakhr dated 44 are known, the likelihood of a muling seems minimal. Could it have been that Ziyād's administration had intended to introduce the Khusraw type with *bism allāh rabbī* from the outset, from the time of his appointment to Baṣra either late in 44 or early in 45? If so, might the issues of mints retaining the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, dated 44 or 47, have signalled Ibn ʿĀmir's insubordination against Ziyād in parts of Fārs such as Bīshāpūr, Ardashīr Khurra and Yazd, the three cities from which the 47 issues are known? Clearly, we have here grist for further research, once again another apparently regular issue of Iṣṭakhr that cannot be readily explained.

To recapitulate the mainstream coinage of the Baṣran prefecture during the second phase, here is a list of the second phase issues in what I have suggested as the correct chronological order:

(41-42) Khusraw type with YE 30 and probably YE 31 (*bism allāh* only, without *rabbī*)

42-43/44 ʿAbd Allāh (without patronymic)

43/44-47 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (with patronymic)

47 Khusraw type with *bism allāh al-mālik* (Bīshāpūr only)

47-50 Khusraw type with *bism allāh rabbī*

As noted above, several issues remain difficult to date, including the year 47 issue of Bīshāpūr in the name of Ziyād, as well as the Iṣṭakhr 44 and Sīstān 45 *bism allāh rabbī* issues.

Kūfan prefecture

In my *ONS* article, I noted a total of twelve mints that struck coins of the Khusraw type, with name legend AWSRWY, *bism allāh* in ObQ2 and Yazdigerd years between 24 and 39 (23 if the uncertain AYR is included). Eleven of these mints are represented during the years YE 31-39, corresponding to the Kūfan governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba. Of these mints, six are securely identified, Hamadān (AHM), Jayy (GD), Qumm (GW),[56] Veh-Ardashir (WH), Rayy (RD),

coarser than normal for coins of this period from Bīshāpūr, but not so sufficiently that the coin need be regarded as an imitation.

(52) As already noted, there is a type of BYŠ 51 which is a muling of an obsolete Khusraw die with a reverse die of 51 (cat. 140).

(53) Warden-Album and Walker 25 (p.19), respectively.

(54) Walker Th.2 (p.15); there are three die-different specimens in the Warden-Album collection.

(55) Paris 1965.458. The date is indisputably clear.

(56) Gyselen 1983, pp. 236-238, where the attributions of GW to Jundī Sābūr and Jurjān are dismissed; Gyselen associates GW with the full mint legend GWDMY (for Gōyman) found on some drachms of Yazdigerd I and in turn with the Islamic toponym Qumm found on ʿAbbāsid and later coins. She offers this identification with some

and Bihqubādh (WYH); another has been tentatively identified as Nihāwand (NY). All seven of these locations lay within the Kūfan prefecture and all were thus under the authority of al-Mughīra.

An eighth mint is AW, which has generally been identified as Ahwāz (Hurmazd-Ardashir) and was theoretically included in the Baṣran prefecture.[57] It is possible that Ahwāz was assigned to Kūfa in the early period, for reasons not preserved in the histories. On the other hand, AW could conceivably refer to some other, as yet unidentified, locality; at least in theory, any place name with the element AWSRWY (Khusraw) or AWRMZD (Hurmazd) could fit the bill, and there may have been many toponyms of this sort. Thus the adoption of Kūfan coin types at AW need not be regarded as contravening the general theory that the two prefectures maintained clearly distinct coinages during the second phase.

Finally, there are four additional mints which have not yet been located, AYR, BYW, PR and a mint tentatively read as YARY; the last mint is represented only by the year 39, and is the only known Khusraw type of that year. Furthermore, for all twelve mints, there are no coins known whatsoever that bear Baṣran types, as indicated above. We can thus easily summarise the Kūfan coinage of the second phase as follows:

41 ʿAbd Allāh (without patronymic) (Veh-Ardashir only)

41-50 Khusraw type, with *bism allāh* only, dated YE 31-39.

Third phase (3)

The third phase extends from the consolidation of the Baṣran and Kūfan prefectures under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in AH 50 to the end of the main series of Arab-Sasanian coinage in AH 85, seven years after the introduction of the post-reform Umayyad dirhams. This phase can in turn be divided into three slightly overlapping sub-phases: (3a) the period of Sufyānid ascendancy, 50-64; (3b) the second *fitna*, 61-73; (3c) the period of Marwānid ascendancy, 72-85. While there are distinct characteristics of the coinage of each of these sub-phases, there are also certain unifying aspects. First of all, virtually all silver coinage of the third phase bears the name of a caliph or governor, the Khusraw and Yazdigerd types having at last been abandoned (except for a few unusual issues, as well as the Class II local coinage of Sīstān). In fact, of the more than 40 caliphal and gubernatorial names found on mainstream Arab-Sasanian coinage, all except ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (b. Kurayz) occur during the third phase. Secondly, with the exception of the Dārābjird district mints, where Yazdigerd years were retained on all but a few rare exceptions, virtually all coins bear actual Hijrī dates; frozen dates are retained only in Sīstān. Third, there is a gradual trend over these 35 years towards more varied and more complex obverse marginal legends. Fourth, there is increasing use of symbols, isolated letters and monograms in both the obverse and reverse margins, though the meaning of most of these generally remains obscure. Fifth, there is greater variation in the design of the earring and the breast ornament. Sixth, there is a gradual change in fabric and die execution towards flat strikes and flatter relief, as opposed to the slightly convex strikes and slightly moulded relief that were typical from the time of Khusraw II (and earlier) until the end of the second phase. In the following discussion, each of the three sub-phases will be treated separately.

One of the most regrettable aspects of currently available publications of third phase coinage is the almost total lack of studies of the coins of individual governors. The sole significant exception is the superb article on the *orans* coinage of Bishr b. Marwān by Treadwell (1999), though the recent studies of the Kirmān provincial coinage by Mochiri are at least of marginal interest. Perhaps further study of this coinage ought to concentrate on thorough analyses of the coinage of each of the nearly forty known local governors, especially those whose coins are known from multiple mints.

Third phase, first sub-phase (3a) (AH 50-64) Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Most coinage of this period bears the name of either Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (50-54) or his son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (54-64); the few exceptions are noted at the end of this section. The coins of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān are remarkably uniform. They all bear his full name, usually in the form ZYYAT Y ABWSWPAN, though there is some minor variation in spelling, notably at Dārābjird. The obverse marginal legend is *bism allāh rabbī* except at Dārābjird, where the shorter *bism allāh* was retained, always with frozen year 43. The jewellery is always that of the standard Khusraw type (B0 and E0), except for some variation on a few Dārābjird issues. Auxiliary symbols are not especially uncommon but are restricted to occasional pellets in various locations, typically before or after *bism allāh* or before *rabbī* on the obverse, at various locations in the reverse margins, before or after the mint signature, or alongside the altar base in the reverse field. The only inscription is the occasional use of the Pahlavi letter P in the reverse margin on a few issues of Dārābjird.[58] In all, 24 mints have been securely identified for Ziyād's coinage of 50-54, spread throughout the Kūfan and Baṣran prefectures, though predominantly in the latter (three additional mints, known only with apparently incorrect dates, are noted in the following footnote). By far the most productive mints are Bīshāpūr and Dārābjird (including Fasā, i.e., either DAP or DP), which

hesitation and does not exclude the possibility that at some periods the signature could have referred to a different mint such as Gurgān.

(57) See especially Gyselen 1989a, p. 56, and Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 72-74.

(58) There are two examples of DA (Dārābjird itself) and one of DAP (Fasā) with P in the reverse margin in the Warden-Album collection (unknown to Walker), both types significantly rarer than examples with plain reverse margins. Since it appears on coins of both mints, I would conclude that unlike the inclusion of P adjacent to the fire altar on issues of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and later, the use of P in the reverse margin is unlikely to be a mint indication. Rather, it was probably some sort of mintmaster's control mark, the meaning of which remains obscure. More rarely, what seems to be the Pahlavi monogram of GM is also found in the reverse margin (cf. Paris 1965.475 of DAP).

together account for 60% or more of all extant coins in the name of Ziyād.[59]

One curious development during Ziyād's coinage is the opening of a mint at Baṣra, apparently in 53. Coins of 53 are extremely rare, those of 55 somewhat less so; only under ᶜUbayd Allāh from 56 to 64 did the mint become prolific. Drachms of the year 55 are unusual in that they exhibit several distinct forms of the hairball behind the portrait, forms seen on no other Arab-Sasanian coinage.[60]

During the reign of Ziyād coinage resumed in Khurāsān, after a hiatus of just over fifteen years (since YE 26 = AH 37/38), albeit on a very limited scale and restricted to the single mint of Abarshahr (APRŠ) in AH 53 and 54.[61] From the year 52, coinage was also resumed at mints in Kirmān province, this time with actual rather than frozen dates, a policy that would apply to all subsequent Arab-Sasanian coinage in that province. Coins are known fom NAR dated 52, 53 and 54, from BN dated 52 and 53, from GRM dated 52 and 53 and from SRCN dated 54.[62] As for Sīstān, there is no identifiable coinage of the years 50-54, though it is probable that Khusraw type coins with *bism allāh rabbī* and frozen date 48 continued to be manufactured during these years.

Samura b. Jundab

All drachms of the Dārābjird district in the name of Ziyād continue to bear the frozen year 43. Samura b. Jundab had been Ziyād's deputy at Baṣra and had ruthlessly persecuted the Khārijites on Ziyād's behalf. It is said that he retained the governorship of Baṣra for a short period of perhaps six months after Ziyād's death, which is said to have occurred in 53. However, Ziyād's coinage continues into the year 54 at seven mints, and at Baṣra until 55, i.e., until his son ᶜUbayd Allāh was able to return from military duties in Khurāsān and assume the combined governorship of Kūfa and Baṣra. The only mints to strike coins in Samura's name were Dārābjird and Fasā, presumably in the short interval between Ziyād's death and Samura's dismissal by the caliph Muᶜāwiya. These two mints then struck coins in the name of Muᶜāwiya, again for a very brief time, followed by coins in the name of ᶜUbayd Allāh. In an unpublished article communicated to me some time ago, DeShazo suggested approximate dates of 52-53 for the Samura issues, 53-54 for Muᶜāwiya, from 54 onwards for ᶜUbayd Allāh, though if the Samura coins were indeed struck after the death of Ziyād in 53, the actual dates of these three series should be advanced by a year or slightly less, i.e., 53-54, 54/54-55 and 54-55/55, respectively. All of these coins retain the frozen year 43.

The caliph Muᶜāwiya

The issue of Muᶜāwiya is especially interesting for he inscribes his name as MYYAWYA AMYR Y WYRWYŠNYKAN, "Muᶜāwiya, commander of the believers", thus with the Pahlavi translation of امیر المؤمنین, *amīr al-mu'minīn*, its earliest occurrence on coinage. The same title, always in Pahlavi,[63] is later utilised by ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr on most of his coins, including all those struck in Dārābjird district, still later by ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān on a few scarce coins struck in Dārābjird district, and finally by the Khārijite leader Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a at several mints in Fārs and Kirmān provinces. As for the coinage of Muᶜāwiya, it was produced solely within the district of Dārābjird, both at the city of Dārābjird (DA) and at Fasā (DAP).

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

The decade-long coinage of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād is also quite uniform, though there is greater variation in detail. His name is most commonly written as AWBYTALA Y ZYYATAN (or ZAYATAN), though there are some minor divergences, such as the consistent spelling AWBYDWLA at Dārābjird. However, there is considerable variation in jewellery and a larger repertoire of pellets and other symbols in various locations on the coin, including the obverse or reverse margin, spaces before and after the mint name and the area adjacent to the altar base; similar large repertoires of variations continued to typify all subsequent Arab-Sasanian coinage. In fact, on the coinage of ᶜUbayd Allāh, virtually every known coin has some sort of pellet or symbol, and a substantial number have jewellery other than B0 and E0. The obverse marginal legend of ᶜUbayd Allāh's coinage is almost always *bism allāh*, though occasional additional words are found, such as Pahlavi ŠTWRAM on some rare coins of Jayy dated 62 (cat. 297). Such supplementary legends, whether in Pahlavi or Arabic, were to become commonplace during the second and third sub-phases.

(59) The following is a partial list based on Walker, together with additional coins in Paris, the Warden-Album collection and the Malek collection:

AHM 52	KWAT 51, 52
APRŠ 53, 54	MY *30*, 51, 53
ART 51, 52, 54	NAR 52, 53, 54
AW 51	NHR 52
AYR *30*, *46?*, 52	NY *26*, *30*, 51, 52, 53, 54
BCRA 53, 55	RD *30*
BN 52, 53	SRCN 54
BYŠ 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54	ST 50, 51, 52, 53, 54
DA "43"	SYWKW 54
DAP or DP "43"	ŠY 52
DŠT 51, 52	WH *37*
GD *30*, 50, 51, 52	WYHC 35?, 50
GRM 52, 53	YZ 50, 51, 52, 53

The dates in italics are spurious, and may refer to imitative or uncertain coinage. The mints of RD (Malek), WH (Warden-Album) and WYHC (Paris 1965.488) may not be correct mints for Ziyād but imitative types struck at an unknown mint with reverse dies from the time of either Khusraw II or the Arab-Sasanian Khusraw type coinage. The remaining 24 mints can be securely regarded as authentic mints for the named coinage of Ziyād.

(60) Walker 1941, p. 40, nos. 57 (year 53) and Cam.2 (55). The Warden-Album collection contains three examples of Baṣra 55, each with a different form of the hairball.

(61) Warden-Album (53), Walker 50, p. 36 (54).

(62) All in Warden-Album collection except GRM 52 (Paris 1965.500) and 53, which appeared in a Schulten sale, 22 October 1985, lot 1072.

(63) Curiously, the final word is consistently spelled WYRWYŠNYKAN at the Dārābjird mints, WRWYŠNYKAN, without the first Y, at all other mints. Minor misspellings are occasionally seen.

At least 28 distinct mints operated during the governorship of ᶜUbayd Allāh, mainly the same mints as had been active during his father's tenure.[64] However, even more than under his father, the preponderance of minting had shifted to the Baṣran prefecture, despite the fact that in the year 62 a mint was opened for the first time at Kūfa itself. This new mint is indicated on the coins by the Pahlavi name AKWLA, derived from the old Aramaic name, ᶜAqola, a pre-Islamic town alongside which the Arab settlement of Kūfa was established.[65] Coins of Kūfa are known dated 62 and 63, of which the former is moderately common.[66] Thereafter, during the remainder of the third phase, Arab-Sasanian coinage within the Kūfan prefecture is restricted to a few rare issues of Kūfa and Jayy, though more than a dozen mints within the Kūfan prefecture were brought into service in 79 for the post-reform dirhams of ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.

(64) The following mints and dates are known, a partial list based on Walker, together with additional coins in Paris, the Warden-Album collection and the Malek collection:

AFZWT (or AFZWTK) 56, 57

AKWLA 62, 63

APR 60

ART 58

AY 62

AYRAN 29, 30, 31, 32, 56, 59, 60, 61, "2"

BBA 62

BCRA 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64

BH 60, 61, 62

BYŠ *51*, 53, 55

DA *26*, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52 (all dates except 26 are YE years)

DŠ, DŠT, DŠTY 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64

GD 60, 61, 62, 63, 68 (68 is a curious piece, with clear date and proper style, Walker B.16)

HRA 56

KRMAN 58

KRMAN-GY 59, 60, 61, 63, 64

KRMAN-HP, KRMAN-HPYC 60

KRMAN-NAR 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64

KRMAN-NAWGY 60

KRMAN-SRCN 60, 61, 63

NY 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63

SK 56

ST 49, 52, 54, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64 (49 and 52 are presumably YE dates)

SYWN, SYWKW or SYWKAN 54, 59, 60, 63

TSFWN 63

WYH "27", 63

YZ 49, 50, 57, 60, 62 (49 and 50 are YE dates)

(65) This mint was read by Walker and Gaube, as well as by most of their forerunners, as ATRA and interpreted as an abbreviation of the provincial name Ādharbāyjān. For the correction to Kūfa, see Treadwell 1999, p. 226, and Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 37-38.

(66) Walker 1941, p. 54, B.11 (62) and I.26 (63).

Unlike Kūfa, where production was never prodigious, the mint of Baṣra (BCRA) emerged under ᶜUbayd Allāh, and only during his governorship, as the principal Arab-Sasanian mint, operating continuously and voluminously from 56 to 64.[67] Coins of this single mint account for close to, if not more than, half of all extant coins of ᶜUbayd Allāh; in fact, the Baṣran issue of ᶜUbayd Allāh is the most common of all Arab-Sasanian drachms. Most of the remainder is accounted for by coins of Dārābjird. The remaining 20-odd mints account for less than a fourth of the total. After the death of ᶜUbayd Allāh in 64 the coinage of Baṣra is intermittent and always very rare.

Whereas Bīshāpūr had been the most productive mint under Ziyād, it virtually disappeared under ᶜUbayd Allāh. Aside from some curious coins dated during Ziyād's tenure but in the name of ᶜUbayd Allāh (years 51 and 53), only the year 55 is attested, as well as some barbarous imitations with illegible dates; all are extremely rare.[68] In fact, one may postulate that in the year 55 the mint of Bīshāpūr was in effect transferred to Baṣra, where it remained until 65 (under ᶜUbayd Allāh until 64, then under the Zubayrid governor al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd Allāh in 65, and finally under Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr in 66, though the date of the last is queried). In 66 Bīshāpūr once again emerged as the principal Arab-Sasanian mint, remaining so until the year 83, when it ceased producing Arab-Sasanian coinage, though it remained a post-reform Umayyad and early ᶜAbbāsid mint under the Arabicised name of Sābūr. There are no coins known from Bīshāpūr dated between 56 and 65, and no post 65 coins of Baṣra save some very rare issues of Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh and Bishr b. Marwān struck between 73 and 75 and one of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān dated 83, described under the third sub-phase.

The first issue of ᶜUbayd Allāh at Dārābjird retains the frozen year 43 inherited from his predecessors. Beginning in YE 45 (commenced 17 Rajab 56), a regular series was struck in every year through YE 52 (commenced 2 Shawwāl 63). There are no confirmed coins of the ancillary district mint Fasā, normally signed either DAP or DP, though a few rare issues of year 51 bear the Pahlavi letter P in the reverse margin.[69] It is possible that this letter indicates the sub-mint DP or DAP, Fasā, in much the same manner as the letter P placed either above the signature DA or adjacent to the lower portion of the fire altar on the coins of Ibn al-Zubayr and later governors. However, I doubt that this P in the reverse margin can be a mint indication, as I have already suggested for similar coins of Ziyād. Other coins of Dārābjird of this reign bear a monogram in the reverse

(67) A drachm allegedly ascribed to the year 52 was recently published (Peus Auktion 363, 26 April 2000, lot 5450). The date is in fact NPNCA for 59. This date is confirmed by the pellets before the mint name and flanking the words *bism allāh*, an arrangement found only on Baṣran drachms of 59 and the early part of 60.

(68) For year 51, clearly written AYWPNCA, Walker Cam.3 (p.55); for year 53, the only known type of ᶜUbayd Allāh to bear the obverse marginal inscription *bism allāh rabbī*, Walker 76 (p.55); for year 55, Warden-Album collection, with الله الملك (*allāh al-mālik*, without *bism*), in the obverse margin. ᶜUbayd Allāh was never sub-governor of Bīshāpūr, though he was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 53 by his father.

(69) Walker 91 (p.63).

margin that has been tentatively read as GM; these are reasonably common and exist for many, if not most, years between YE 45 and 52. Since it occurs in conjunction with coins of Fasā struck under Ibn al-Zubayr (mint DA + P), as well as on all of the rather common coins of ʿUbayd Allāh struck at Jayy, it cannot be a mint signature. Both its correct decipherment and its meaning remain a mystery.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd and al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿAṣ

During the years 52-58, Kirmān province fell out of the hands of the Sufyānids, probably into Khārijite hands, though, as noted above, some sectors of the province remained under the authority of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān until early in 54. Two successive governors struck coins there, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd during the years 52-54 and al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿAṣ from 56-58; no coins are known of any mint in Kirmān dated 55, perhaps on account of political chaos between these two governorships.[70] Neither of these governors can be securely identified in the literature, and it is best that they be simply regarded as "unidentified governors of Kirmān".[71] In addition to four mints that operated under Ziyād between 52 and 54 (BN, GRM, NAR and SRCN), five additional mints opened during the tenures of these two local governors, ANWAT, GY, HPYC, NAWGY and PYR, of which only two have been convincingly identified, Jīruft (GY) and Khabīṣ (HPYC).[72] All of these mints, save for PYR, are also known as suffixes on later issues of Kirmān province (GRM is actually a prefix rather than a suffix).[73]

Another novelty of the Kirmān mints during this sub-phase is the first appearance of a significant new Arabic legend in the obverse margin. All of the coins of al-Ḥakam bear the inscription بسم الله رب الحكم, *bism allāh rabb al-ḥukm*, "in the name of God, Lord of the judgment". The use of a marginal inscription that incorporated a word-play on the governor's name is a remarkable innovation, one that would be used by a number of governors during the second and third sub-phases, including ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. It remains unclear whether the use of *rabb al-ḥukm* might indicate a Khārijite connection, as Mochiri has suggested. While it is true that the well-known Khārijite, Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, used the characteristically Khārijite expression لا حكم الا لله, *lā ḥukm illā lillāh*, on his coinage, another well-known Khārijite governor, ʿAṭīya b. al-Aswad, used an altogether different marginal inscription, بسم الله ولي الامر, *bism allāh walī al-amr*. Nonetheless, given that the use of a supplementary expression together with *bism allāh* may well be appropriate for Khārijite governors, Mochiri's interpretation of al-Ḥakam as a Khārijite should not be rejected *a priori*.

(70) Could it be that ʿUbayd Allāh was able to regain control of at least some parts of Kirmān in 55-56? In his forthcoming study of Arab-Sasanian mint names, Sears has suggested that ʿUbayd Allāh struck coins at KRMAN dated 56, of which he cites three specimens, Walker Do.3 as well as unpublished specimens in the British Museum (1949-8-3-200) and the Sheik Hamad Al Thani collection. However, Do.3 was a coin published without illustration by Dorn in the 19th century that Walker queried and the Sheik Hamad coin was previously in the Warden-Album collection and clearly dated 58. I have recently examined the unpublished BM specimen, and it too is clearly dated 58 rather than 56. Thus there are no coins of ʿUbayd Allāh struck in Kirmān in AH 56 and Sears' alleged evidence for Sufyānid activity in Kirmān during that year is not tenable.

(71) As early as 1871, Mordtmann read the patronymic, which is always ZYTAN rather than either ZYYATAN or ZAYATAN, as Zayd and identified him with a personage of that name known to have been active in North Africa during the caliphate of ʿUmar. Walker rejected this and preferred to identify him with the well-known brother of ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm (1941, p. li), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād. Gaube noted that a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd served briefly as governor of Mecca during the caliphate of Yazīd I (60-64), but he still chose to regard the issuer of these coins as the brother of ʿUbayd Allāh (1973, p. 65). Mochiri provides yet another *ex nihilo* argument to assert that this governor is yet another Khārijite leader, concluding that "as for many Khārijite leaders, the historians have left out his name" (1986, pp. 39-40), but his argument for reading Zayd is strong. Part of Mochiri's argument rests on the reading of Walker 152 (p.85), on which the inscription in ObQ2 has been effaced. Walker thought that the remaining traces might better fit لله الحمد than بسم الله; however, every other coin of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd bears the normal *bism allāh* in ObQ2. Despite this, Mochiri accepted Walker's conjectural reading, using it to justify his impression that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd was a Khārijite.

Several personages are known with the name al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ. Gaube identified this governor as al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ b. Bishr al-Thaqafī, who was named governor of Khurāsān in 45 (1973, p. 67). Mochiri conjured up yet another Khārijite on the basis of the variant marginal legend on his coins, claiming the marginal legend is "explicitly *Kharijite*" (italics are his) (1986, pp. 40-41), but this required him to misread the marginal legend. The legend must be *rabb al-ḥukm*, for *rabbī al-ḥakam* would require a *yā* after *rabb*. Nonetheless, given that Kirmān had indeed fallen under Khārijite control during this period, Mochiri's suggestion that al-Ḥakam was a Khārijite is probably correct.

Walker and his predecessors were unable to determine that all mints of these two governors were located in Kirmān province. Gaube was the first to state convincingly that the suffixes to KRMAN on coins of 58 and later (commencing with issues bearing the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād) were sub-mints within the province (1973, pp. 96-98). However, he did not make the connection between his ARCN and KRMAN-SRCN (the latter is not on his list, but had already been published by Walker; see his mint signature no. 32 on p. ciii) or between NAR and KRMAN-NAR. Consequently, he included Arrajān, Nahr Tīrā and Burūjird as mints for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and al-Ḥakam, thereby obscuring their connection to Kirmān. It was left to Mochiri to link the mints of these two governors and the suffixes of KRMAN (1985, pp. 111-112), an important achievement somewhat blemished by his later attempt to establish a Khārijite connection to these two governors, as noted above.

(72) A post-reform dirham of Jīruft dated 82 has recently been published. See Jazzar 1998, pp. 8-9, and Sotheby's, 27 May 1999, lot 96. Mochiri (1985, p. 118) provided identifications for a further four mints, but these must be regarded as tentative, though Narmāshīr for NAR seems plausible.

(73) The following is a partial list based on Walker and Kolesnikov, together with additional coins in Paris, the Warden-Album collection, the Malek collection, and the present catalogue:

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	al-Ḥakam
ANWAT 54	ANWAT 57, 58
BN 52, 53, 54	BN 56
GRM 54	GRM 56, 57, 58
GY 54	HPYC 57
NAR 54	NAR 56, 57, 58
SRCN 54	NAWGY 57
	PYR 56, 58
	SRCN 57

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (continued)

Yet another interesting development took place under ᶜUbayd Allāh in the province of Kirmān. From Sasanian times until the end of al-Ḥakam's brief governorship during the year 58, mints within the province were indicated by a short abbreviation. The earliest was KR for Kirmān, presumably located at its capital, attested from Varahran IV (388-399) until year 2 of Queen Boran (circa 631). However, KR is not known either for Yazdigerd III or for any Arab-Sasanian type. Later in the Sasanian period, the mints of BN and NAR appear, and both survive until the end of the reign of Yazdigerd III, albeit with occasional closures.[74] The mint of GRM is first attested for year 10 of Yazdigerd III.[75] All three of these mints are well-known for late issues of Yazdigerd III, followed immediately by Arab-Sasanian issues, at first with frozen dates then, beginning in AH 52, with actual dates. From 52-58, they were joined by several additional mints, as noted in the sections on Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd and al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ᶜĀṣ. Commencing with the reconquest of the province by ᶜUbayd Allāh around the middle of AH 58, the mints are invariably indicated as either the sole name KRMAN or the name KRMAN together with a prefix or suffix. Of the many mints, only GY and HPYC, together with their counterparts KRMAN-GY and KRMAN-HPYC, have been securely identified; less secure is NAR, which has been associated with Narmāshīr, though the signature can also be read as WAR, perhaps for Bardāsīr. Narmāshir is not known as a post-reform mint—only a few rare Būyid coins of the 4th/10th century are attested—but a year 79 post-reform dirham of Bardāsīr has recently been discovered.[76] As for the mint KRMAN, the provincial name without either a prefix or suffix, it remains unidentified, though its association with Shiragan (Sīrjān), the provincial capital, is appealing.[77]

A new type was introduced by ᶜUbayd Allāh in Sīstān in the year 56, with the usual SK signature and his own name, presumably replacing the *bism allāh rabbī* type with frozen year 48. This type, which is relatively common, is ᶜUbayd Allāh's only issue in that province. The year 56 also became a frozen year, since it was copied for the Sīstān issue bearing the name of Salm b. Ziyād, for whom it can be neither an authentic Hijrī or Yazdigerd year, insofar as it must have been issued between Salm's appointment to Khurāsān in 61 and his loss of Sīstān in 64.[78]

Finally, there is only a very modest amount of coinage in Khurāsān. The only confirmed issues are a coin of Abarshahr (here abbreviated APR) dated 60 and a rather unusual coin of Harāt (HRA) dated 56. Both coins are rather anomalous. The drachm of APR 60 has the mint and date positions reversed.[79] The drachm of HRA 56 bears only the name AWBYTALA before the bust; the patronymic has been moved behind the bust, replacing the word AFZWT.[80]

There are two well-known anomalous series of coins that bear the name of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The first of these is a series of coins bearing what seem to be Post-Yazdigerd years struck principally at the mint of AYRAN, which Sears and others have tentatively ascribed to Ḥulwān in Media, thus a Kūfan mint. All of these coins share two unusual features: first, there is a Pahlavi word best deciphered as YZAN in either lapidary script (used for engraving) or cursive script (used for handwriting) in ObQ1, and secondly, there is always a group of four pellets following *bism allāh* in ObQ2. Mochiri's decipherment of the word in ObQ1 as YZAN seems plausible, as the word is clearly written in that form in lapidary Pahlavi on coins of AYRAN dated 31 (cat. no. 45) and 32, though on coins of other years the word is engraved in a stylised fashion that is not easy to decipher.[81] Walker lists coins of this mint with dates 29, 30, 31 and 32, to which Mochiri adds a coin of year 37 and another with what is undoubtedly the Hijrī date 56.[82] Since PYE 29 would have begun on 29 Shaᶜbān 60, the Hijrī-dated coin stands at the head of the series. Coins of two other mints are reported, both of which are also situated in the Kūfan prefecture, WYH 27 (PYE) and GD 38 (undetermined era), Bihqubādh and Jayy, respectively.[83] Mochiri attributes these coins to the Yazīdīya sect, but this seems very far-fetched, there being no evidence of Yazīdī activity at this early a date.[84] The

(74) According to David Sellwood, Philip Whitting and Richard Williams (*Sasanian Coins*, London 1985), the earliest issue of BN appeared in the reign of Peroz (457-484, the coins are undated) (p. 126), of NAR in year 6 of Khusraw I (about 536) (p. 144). Both mints are misidentified in this work.

(75) Tyler-Smith 2000, p. 160, nos. 28-29.

(76) Sotheby's, 16 November 2000, lot 43. In his most recent publication, Mochiri questions the association of the important mint NAR with such a minor city as Narmāshīr, but offers no alternative identification (Mochiri 2000, p. 40). See also footnote (72) above.

(77) In his forthcoming study of Arab-Sasanian mints, Sears presents good reasons for interpreting both KRMAN and PYR as the capital. Further identifications are suggested, some of which are intriguing, such as his seemingly secure identification of GRM with Bamm. Other suggestions seem less convincing, such as his attempt to identify BN as Bardāsīr: he interpreted BN as BR, though I cannot visualise the second letter as R rather than either N or W. Whereas R can be written as N/W when attached to the previous letter, as in ART for Ardashir Khurra, it is never written in that fashion when detached.

(78) Walker 122 (p.77). For a discussion of this type, see Sears 1996a, p. 12.

(79) Warden-Album collection, also presumably Walker STA.2 (p.72), though Walker did not note this anomaly and the coin is not illustrated. I have seen several examples of this date and all have reversed mint and date.

(80) Walker O.7 (p.74); also Gaube 80. Walker failed to notice that AFZWT behind the bust has been replaced by Y ZAYATAN, which is unfortunately not clear in either illustration.

(81) For the year 32 with lapidary YZAN, see Mochiri 1986, p. 91, no. 14, but note that Walker's coin of the same mint and date (Th.10 on p. 53) bears the word in the cursive form. An alternative reading might be DYDAN, which would better fit the cursive form, but I am not certain that this would have any meaning in Pahlavi, a language with which I am not very familiar.

(82) The first four are Walker M.33, I.23, I.24 and Th.10 (pp. 52-53). The remaining two are Mochiri 1986, p. 91, nos. 15 and 10, respectively, both in Paris.

(83) Mochiri 1986, p. 91, no. 11 and Walker I.35 (p.68), respectively. The dates 37 and 38, if correctly in the Post-Yazdigerd era, would be posthumous issues of ᶜUbayd Allāh. Could the 37 and 38 reverse dies be leftovers from the reign of Khusraw II, similar to the year 26 dies described in the next paragraph?

(84) Mochiri 1986, pp. 26-27; see also Th. Menzel, "Yazīdī", *EI²*, v.4, pp. 1163-1170, where the Yazīdīs are said to have perhaps originated

identity of the issuer of these strange coins and the reasons for the PYE dating are utterly obscure, but the series bears all the appearances of an officially accepted issue, albeit one that deviates from the standard issues of ʿUbayd Allāh. The type is rare, but not excessively so; several dozen specimens are now known.

Even stranger is a group of coins with the year 26, bearing the names of various governors and mints. Mochiri lists six such coins (Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, NY 26; ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, YZ, WH, DA 26; Salm b. Ziyād, ART, DA 26), to which may be added coins of Ziyād, DA 26, and of Salm, MRW 26, both in the Warden-Album collection. Both Walker and Mochiri regarded the date as a genuine PYE year 26 (commenced 27 Rajab 57), but for several reasons this is untenable.[85] Fortunately, all of the six published pieces have been illustrated, either by Mochiri or Walker, so that it is possible to examine their style. Several features are apparent. Except perhaps for the obverse die of one of the Ziyād coins, which seems to be a later Sīstānī imitation of a Ziyād obverse and used here with a reverse die inscribed NY 26, all of the dies appear to be genuine obverse dies, but not necessarily of the mints inscribed on the reverse.[86] For example, stylistically the two Salm obverses are normal obverse dies resembling those used at Abarshahr, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh and the camp mint BBA. The ʿUbayd Allāh obverses coupled with Dārābjird and Veh-Ardashir reverses are typically Baṣran in their ornamentation, and thus altogether different from his Dārābjird style. As for the YZ 26 obverse, it bears a symbol in ObQ1, probably the Pahlavi letter M, which I have not been able to link with any of his mints, though Mochiri has found a coin of YZ dated AH 62 with the same letter M in ObQ3.[87] Moreover, several of the mints are matched with rulers who did not produce or could not have produced coins at the inscribed mint. For example, Salm never controlled either Ardashīr Khurra or Dārābjird, and ʿUbayd Allāh is not known to have struck coins at Veh-Ardashir at all; in fact, the latest confirmed coin of that mint is the year 41 coin of ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir) described in the section on his coinage.[88] Moreover, the style of the reverses is clearly that of lifetime issues of Khusraw II, not of any Arab-Sasanian issue. Finally, even though most of these coins bear western mints, most of the known specimens bear countermarks of the Jūzjān group, which would suggest an eastern provenance.[89]

Neither Walker nor Mochiri realised that the DA 26 coins of ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm share a common reverse die, and a die that moreover must have belonged to Khusraw II, as is readily apparent from its style and epigraphy.[90] All of this suggests to me that the coins were made from an accumulation of purloined dies, probably acquired somewhere in Khurāsān, or at least brought to Khurāsān for use at whichever illicit mint was responsible for their production. Examples of "wandering" dies from other periods have been published, including some instructive examples from the Ghaznavid and Seljuq periods.[91]

Third phase, second sub-phase (3b) (AH 61-73)

During the second sub-phase no fewer than eighteen individuals are mentioned on the silver coinage. The inscriptions in the obverse margin, both in Arabic and Pahlavi, become ever more complex and varied, as does the use of pellets and other ornaments in both the obverse and reverse margins. Yet, despite this seeming confusion, the coinage of phase 3b is actually quite simple and straightforward, varying in detail rather than in substance. The basic elements of the design remain fixed, the name of a governor almost always appears in two lines before the bust, a religious statement always occurs in the obverse margin, the mint signature is always at the right of the reverse and the date at the left. Except in Dārābjird district, where Yazdigerd years continue uninterruptedly, the date is always in the Hijrī calendar, the only exception being the idiosyncratic province of Sīstān, where frozen dates continued to be used.[92] Moreover, there is a significant reduction in the number of active mints. In particular, coinage in the Kūfan prefecture virtually ceases, the only issues being a few extremely rare drachms from the mint of Jayy, the only remaining mint in the prefecture. All other remaining mints, as far as is known, were located within the Baṣran prefecture. Finally, from all available evidence, there appears to have been no alteration in weight or fineness standards.

The two most important features of the coinage of phase 3b are the coinage of the caliphal pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, headquartered in the Ḥijāz (where there was no coinage of any sort whatsoever), and the sudden emergence of Khurāsān as a major coin-producing region.

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as early as Umayyad times in southern Iraq, but did not become of much importance until hundreds of years later. Their patron saint, Shaykh ʿAdī (b. Musāfir al-Hakkārī), was active in the 6th/12th century, dying during or close to the year 557/1162. The Yazīdīya are not mentioned in any of the early Islamic texts, nor were they "devil-worshippers" as theorised by Mochiri.

(85) Walker 1941, pp. cxvii and 185; Mochiri 1986, pp. 44-45. References to the illustrations are given by Mochiri.

(86) Mochiri 1986, p. 96, no. 59 (= fig.65). The overall style, the epigraphy of the Pahlavi legends and the form of *rabbī* all point to a Sīstānī origin. Since no coins of Ziyād are known to have been struck in that province, the die is presumably that of an imitation or forgery.

(87) Mochiri 1986, p. 48 and p. 97, no. 73. Mochiri's coin is dated 62, clearly a Hijrī date. A specimen in the Warden-Album collection with M in the same location is dated 49, which must be the Yazdigerd year commencing 29 Shaʿbān 60 and ending less than four months prior to the beginning of AH 62.

(88) In the Warden-Album collection is a drachm of WH dated 37 in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. This is strange, for YE 37 ended on 29 Rabīʿ II 49, before Ziyād received the governorship of Kūfa, thus when Veh-Ardashir was still presumably under the control of al-Mughīra. The coin is probably an unofficial issue, perhaps using a genuine WH 37 reverse die of the Arab-Sasanian Khusraw type (Warden-Album collection) or a similar die from Khusraw II himself.

(89) Göbl 1967, v.2, p. 130.

(90) Walker Cam.5 (p.62) and 114 (p.75). Unfortunately, I do not have access to the Ziyād coin in the Warden-Album collection, but wonder whether it too shares the same reverse die.

(91) See especially Nicholas Lowick, "A Sāmānid/Kākwayhid 'mule'", *ANSMN* 14 (1968), pp. 159-162, and his sequel in *ANSMN* 28 (1983), pp. 187-193.

(92) Throughout the Islamic period, the coinage of Sīstān was almost always typologically, metrologically or stylistically distinctive from that of other provinces, whether ruled by a local dynasty or part of a larger political entity. This seems to have been true from late Parthian times until the last local coinage during the reign of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh dated AH 1276 (1859/60), thus for a period of about 1700 years.

Although limited coinage appears in that province both before and after, it is only during this phase that it became a principal issuer; I would estimate that at least 95% of known Arab-Sasanian coinage of Khurāsānian mints dates from between AH 63 and 70. Of the at least 18 persons cited on coins of this sub-phase, only those of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, his deputy ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh (b. Miᶜmar), the Sufyānid Salm b. Ziyād and the latter's erstwhile deputy and subsequently Zubayrid rival, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, are frequently encountered. Coins of these four account for at least 95% of all known coins of this sub-phase.

Only the coins of the four major issuers and of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī will be discussed here in any detail, beginning with those of Ibn al-Zubayr, whose coinage is entirely restricted to Iran and southern Iraq. There is no coinage in northern Iraq that can be attributed to him, and no coinage whatsoever in his stronghold in the Ḥijāz during the second *fitna*.

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Named coins of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr consist of two types, one with his name and patronymic in the usual form, normally APDWLA Y ZWBYRAN, though there is some variation in the spelling of Zubayr, the other with his name and caliphal title, APDWLA AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN, again with some minor variation in the spelling of the final word. For convenience, these may be termed *patronymic* and *caliphal* types respectively. There is also an anonymous caliphal type, with the title AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN ("commander of the believers"), but without his name APDWLA.

Ibn al-Zubayr's coinage of the patronymic type is the earliest, introduced in the year 62, after which it was struck during every year until 69. Walker published two examples dated 62 from the mint KRMAN-NAWGY, apparently the only mint known for that year. Curiously, one bears the normal patronymic ZWBYRAN, the other a variant form, ZWPYRAN, with P replacing B.[93] Thereafter, patronymic coins are known from various Kirmānī mints dated 63, probably 64, then 66 through 69 (all Kirmān province coins of 65 and most of 64 and 66 bear the caliphal name legend). A rather common group of Ibn al-Zubayr's patronymic coinage is from Ardashīr Khurra, dated 65 through 67 (one variant, probably the earliest type of year 65, has the aberrant name legend APDWLA BWNY ZWBYR, a direct transliteration of the Arabic عبد الله بن زبير)[94], as well as its subordinate mint TART in 67. The only other coins known of this type were struck at Yazd in 67 and 69, and at Jayy in 63, the latter being the only known type of Ibn al-Zubayr struck within the Kūfan prefecture.[95]

(93) Walker 38 and Z.1, respectively (p.30).

(94) Mochiri 1986, no. 106 (pp. 67-68).

(95) The Jayy (GD) 63 coin was first published by Warden in the *ONS Newsletter* 90-91 (June 1984). Warden interpreted the date as 61, thus describing it as the earliest known issue of Ibn al-Zubayr. Mochiri recently published two further examples from his own collection, repeating the date as 61 (Mochiri 2000, p. 36). Ilisch was the first to correct that reading of this date, which is clearly 63 (SYCŠST), in his description of lot 5478 in Peus Katalog 363 (April 2000). There is a further specimen of this type in the present collection (no. 299).

The caliphal type was struck at the Dārābjird mints from YE 53-60, i.e., from late in the year 64 until sometime during 72,[96] at Iṣṭakhr in 66 (I prefer to read all the so-called year 63 coins as 66) and at various Kirmān mints during the years 65-67. It is generally acknowledged that the caliphal title was only adopted by him following the death of the Sufyānid caliph Yazīd I in 64, as is suggested by three extremely rare coins of the anonymous caliphal type, one dated YE 53 (began 13 Shawwāl 64) from Dārābjird, the others struck at KRMAN and KRMAN-NAR in 64.[97] It is possible that these are not strictly Zubayrid coins, but were produced by local authorities still unsure of just who was caliph after having received news of Yazīd's death. This anonymous issue must have been of very short duration, for we find still in the same year at Dārābjird, and in Kirmān in the following year, coins with the full caliphal inscription, APDWLA AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN. Of course, ᶜAbd Allāh, the "servant of God", could refer to any pious Muslim. However, in the context of the second *fitna* and when coupled with the title "commander of the believers", the phrase ᶜAbd Allāh would surely have evoked the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr rather than that of Muᶜāwīya II, Marwan I or ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. In any case, both the historical milieu and the numismatic context leave little doubt that Ibn al-Zubayr was intended. In particular, the existence of patronymic year 63 coins from KRMAN-ANWAT, KRMAN-HPYC, and KRMAN-SRC[N] rules out the likelihood that any of the plain "commander of the believers" types from Kirmān mints, always dated 64, could have been produced by anyone other than the supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr.[98] For this reason, it seems logical to assume that the similar YE 53 piece from Dārābjird was also a Zubayrid issue.

There are two anomalous coins of the caliphal type that predate the death of Yazīd I. One is struck at Dārābjird with the clear (Yazdigerd) date 51 (AYWPNCA), the other at Iṣṭakhr with the equally clear (Hijrī) date 61 (AYWKWŠST).[99] Both are extremely rare and most likely the result of the reuse of old reverse dies. As already noted, the continued use of obsolete dies was a common phenomenon in the Arab-Sasanian and many other coinages. Numismatists must be careful not to infer "historical" information from coins struck with mismatched dies, lest the historian seeking information from the numismatic source be led astray.

All Arab-Sasanian coins dated 61 have either AYWŠST, AYWKŠST, or AYWKWŠST, never YACŠST. Walker did read the date on a drachm of Jayy 63 as YACŠST, thus 61, but it is clearly SYCŠST, as the third tooth is curved as normal for Y but not for the second tooth of A.

(96) Gaube's statement (1973, p. 61) that the latest coins of Ibn al-Zubayr were struck in 69 is wrong, for it ignores the very common year 60 coins of the Dārābjird mints (YE 60 began on 28 Dhū al-Ḥijja 71), which he himself illustrates in the plates (no. 30). This was presumably a careless oversight. More interesting is that except for the mints of the Dārābjird district, all Zubayrid issues from other regions dated after 69 bear the name of one of his governors or generals rather than his own name, which is undoubtedly what Gaube had intended to say.

(97) DA 53 is Curiel 1965, p. 321, and Peus Auktion 363, 26 April 2000, lot 5544; KRMAN 64 is Naqshabandi 63 (p.110); KRMAN-NAR 64 is Mochiri 1986, no. 118 (p.69).

(98) As for the patronymic types of 63, that of KRMAN-HPYC is Walker 39, the others are unpublished coins of the Biblithèque Nationale (1967.465 for ANWAT and 1965.521 for SRC).

There are thus three distinctive series of Ibn al-Zubayr's coinage: (1) patronymic, dated 62-69, (2) anonymous caliphal, dated 64, including YE 53 from Dārābjird, and (3) named caliphal, dated 64-69 and YE 58-60 for 70-72. It is not known why some mints perpetuated the patronymic coins while other chose the caliphal. Mochiri has suggested that the various mints simply followed their own preferences, presumably ordered by their local administrators. This seems correct, though I would disagree with his concept that these different legends were attempts by the local administrators to cover up their true political and religious associations.[100]

An interesting aspect of much of Ibn al-Zubayr's coinage lies in the variety of obverse marginal inscriptions. On many coins, there is, in addition to *bism allāh* in ObQ2, a Pahlavi inscription in one of the other quadrants, usually ObQ1 or ObQ3. All Zubayrid drachms of Ardashīr Khurra and TART bear a word that appears to be DWWYST in ObQ3, which seems to be nothing more than the numeral "twenty-two", though of undetermined significance. At Yazd, the short word HŠ appears in ObQ1, again of unknown significance. At Iṣṭakhr, the isolated Pahlavi letter M is found in ObQ1, and at Jayy, the so-called GM monogram is found in ObQ1, just as it had appeared on coins of that mint struck in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād during the years 60-63.[101] All of these supplementary legends are unique to their specific mints. They are found on all coins of these three mints that bear the name of Ibn al-Zubayr. Only at the Dārābjird mints do we find no additional legends.

The margins of the Kirmān coins are rather more interesting, for they bear, in addition to *bism allāh*, an as yet undeciphered Pahlavi inscription BPRWYAN or BPRNYAN, sometimes in full, sometimes abbreviated, normally following *bism allāh* and still within ObQ2. Mochiri's Mazdaean explanation as "the first fire" requires far too much orthographic licence to be tenable.[102] There are three interesting variations on this legend, APD BPRWYAN on a coin of KRMAN-HPYC 63, PYRWC BPRWYAN on a coin of GRM-KRMAN 69, and the addition of the GDH monogram in ObQ3 on a coin of KRMAN-(AN?) 69.[103] Although the term BPRWYAN remains obscure, it probably does not refer specifically to Ibn al-Zubayr, as it is also found in the Kirmān provincial mints of his brother Muṣʿab; however, it may somehow be an indication of the Zubayrid polity.

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh

Of the various Zubayrid governors who struck coins in their names at mints located outside of Khurāsān, only the coinage of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh is commonly encountered. Aside from a very rare single issue of KRMAN dated 65,[104] his coinage is restricted to mints in Fārs province dated between 67 and 72, though issues dated 71 or 72 are extremely rare.[105] By far the most plentiful is Bīshāpūr, known from all years 67-70, though coins of Ardashīr Khurra are also common (68-70). ʿUmar did not strike coinage at the Dārābjird mints, which continued to impress the name of Ibn al-Zubayr on its drachms, just as there is no coinage of Ibn al-Zubayr from Bīshāpūr (see next paragraph). All of the Fārs coins of ʿUmar have the obverse marginal legend لله الحمد, *lillāh al-ḥamd*, "praise to God", whereas the solitary Kirmān type has the customary *bism allāh*. The coinage of ʿUmar is entirely straightforward and presents no anomalies.

It is worth briefly noting here the resurgence of the mint of Bīshāpūr, which from 67 until 83 remained by far the most prolific Arab-Sasanian mint, perhaps accounting for 40% or more of all extant coinage of that interval. We have already noted that from 56 to 64 Baṣra was the leading silver mint, striking coins during that interval in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and furnishing a comparable, if not larger, proportion of all drachms struck during those years. For the mint of Baṣra, we have a rare Baṣran issue of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh in the year 65, a probable issue of 66 in the name of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr (with حسبه الله, *ḥasabahu allāh*, "God sufficeth him", in ObQ2 instead of *bism allāh*) in the margin, then a hiatus of six years.[106] In the meantime, after a decade of closure, the mint of Bīshāpūr resumed production in 66, at first in miniscule quantities, as the drachms of 66 and 67 citing ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir), a Zubayrid governor, are very rare.[107] They are, however, of great historical interest, for they bear the lengthened obverse marginal inscription بسم الله محمد رسول الله, *bism allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh*, the earliest datable occurrence of *muḥammad rasūl allāh* on any precious metal Islamic coin (some Syrian copper coins with these words are now believed to be slightly earlier, especially those of Īliyā; see the Arab-Byzantine section). From later in the year 67 until the year 70, Bīshāpūr struck prolifically in the name of ʿUmar. There are no coins

(99) Both are in the Warden-Album collection.

(100) Mochiri 2000, pp. 38-39.

(101) This monogram, which seems to be a ligature of the Pahlavi letters G and M, is found on all drachms of Jayy struck between AH 60 and 68, as well as some coins from other mints. Its meaning is unknown. See also the note to coin no. 229 in the catalogue.

(102) Mochiri 1986, pp. 66-67. The first letter is clearly B and not AYW, and the final letters of the second word are clearly YAN (or the similarly written DAN, GAN, YAW, DAW, GAW) and in no way BAG. Once again, Mochiri's passion for ferreting out a Zoroastrian or Iranian sense has distorted his judgment.

(103) Walker 39 (p.31), Warden-Album collection, and Walker 41 (p.32, also Walker Th.5, same page), respectively. The meaning of these expressions will have to be left to a Pahlavi specialist. Suffice it to note that the word PYRWC is *pēroz*, "victorious".

(104) Walker 202-203 (p.101).

(105) The following list is based on Walker, together with additional coins in Paris, the Warden-Album collection and the Malik collection:

ART 68, 69, 70

BYŠ 67, 68, 69, 70

KRMAN 65 (with *bism allāh* in ObQ2)

ST 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72

WYHC (Arrajān) 67, 68, 69, 70, 71

TART 68

The rarest coins are ST 66 (Malek collection), ST 72 (Paris 1965.554), TART 68 (Mochiri 1986, no. 107), and all coins of WYHC, of which 69 is Walker B.35, 70 is Gaube 105, and the remaining three are in the present catalogue.

(106) Sotheby's, 24 March 1988, lot 207, and Walker I-42 (p.102), respectively.

known of either Baṣra or Bīshāpūr dated 71, though most of the year 73 coins, which bear '3' as a Pahlavi numeral rather than a Pahlavi word, have been incorrectly assigned to the year 71. Thereafter, we have a small quantity of Baṣran coins dated 73-75 and 83, together with substantial quantities from Bīshāpūr dated 72-83, though the years 72 and 81-83 are very rare.

Salm b. Ziyād

As noted above, one of the key features of phase 3b was the sudden explosion of coinage in Khurāsān, commencing abruptly in the year 62 with coins in the name of Salm b. Ziyād, who had been named governor of Khurāsān by the caliph Yazīd I in the year 61, replacing his brother ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, for whom no coins are known. Salm was ousted from the governorship soon after the death of Yazīd in 64, and replaced by his erstwhile deputy, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī, who subsequently swore allegiance to the Zubayrid cause. ᶜAbd Allāh governed Khurāsān on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr until his death, either in battle or at the hands of his Marwānid successor, probably in 73.[108] After Salm was ousted from Khurāsān, probably still in 64 or very early in 65, he returned to Baṣra, where he died, also in 73.

The coinage of Salm is entirely restricted to mints in Khurāsān and the subordinate province of Sīstān.[109] The earliest coinage is dated 62 from the mints of Marw (MRW) and Marw al-Rūdh (MRWRWT); the additional mints of Abarshahr (APRŠT),[110] the camp mint (BBA) and the unidentified AYPTAK[111] came into operation over the next two years, as well as Harāt (HRA) in 66, well after Salm's flight to Iraq. Coins dated 26 and allegedly struck by this governor in Ardashīr Khurra and Dārābjird, which have led to much idle speculation about Salm's career, are, as demonstrated in the section on ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, unofficial issues from purloined dies including reverse dies almost certainly from year 26 of Khusraw II.

Although Salm was certainly out of office by the end of 64, his coinage continued, at the camp mint until 67, at Harāt until 69, at Marw until 70 and at Marw al-Rūdh until 71. These coins overlap with issues of the Zubayrid governor, Ibn Khāzim: for example, we have issues in the name of Salm from Marw dated 63, 64, 65, 67, 68,[112] 69 and 70, alongside issues in the name of Ibn Khāzim dated 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69 and 70 (note the virtual omission of year 68 drachms with either name, undoubtedly caused by a brief Ephthalite reconquest of most of Khurāsān, including the city of Marw, as discussed in the section on Arab-Ephthalite coinage). Walker regarded this anomaly "either as lingering efforts on the part of Salm's partisans to maintain his claim, or evidence that the mint officials were utilising old dies".[113] It is likely that both factors played a role. Thus the coin of Marw 63 citing Ibn Khāzim could well be nothing more than a muling with an obsolete reverse die. But the extensive overlapping series of both governors at Marw and Marw al-Rūdh demands a more elaborate explanation, especially as at one mint, Harāt, there is only post-governorship coinage in the name of Salm (66, 67 and 69) and no coinage whatsoever in the name of Ibn Khāzim. It is well known that Khurāsān in the 60s suffered from incessant intertribal warfare amongst the various Arab tribes who had carved out spheres of influence in and around the principal garrison towns of Khurāsān. On top of this, there was the ongoing conflict between the Marwānids and Zubayrids (often indistinguishable from intertribal strife), as well as numerous attempts by the Ephthalites and related non-Muslim peoples to push back the Muslim advance. Further complexity within this series derives from the likelihood that many of the Khurāsānian coins of Salm and Ibn Khāzim are either contemporary imitations or quasi-legitimate issues made from purloined dies. A thorough analysis of these coins, including their stylistic and weight-standard variations, might allow a more accurate understanding of their nature.

There are two other groups of coins in the name of Salm that require mention. The first group consists of coinage that was struck in his name at Sīstān and Bust bearing the frozen date 56 inherited from his brother ᶜUbayd Allāh, as described in the section on that governor. By this time, the governorship of Sīstān had become a subordinate position whose officials were appointed by the governor of Khurāsān. Salm placed his brother Yazīd in that position shortly after his nomination to Khurāsān, and coins were duly struck in Salm's name (no coins are known with the name of Yazīd b. Ziyād).[114] The issue is

(107) Year 66 is Walker Sch.5 (p.97); for year 67, see Spink Zürich, 17 March 1987, lot 376.

(108) Walker 1941, pp. xlix-li, lii-liii; Gaube 1973, pp. 60 and 73. The life and death of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim have been confused by apocryphal legends that flourished after his death.

(109) The following list is based on Walker, together with additional coins in Paris, the Warden-Album collection and the Malik collection:

APRŠT 63, 64

AYPTAK 64

BBA 64, 67

BST 56

HRA 66, 67, 69

MRW 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70

MRWRWT 62, 63, 64, 67, 70, 71

SK 56

There are also several types with Bactrian inscriptions, not included in the list above, discussed later is this section.

(110) Mochiri published two coins of Abarshahr, one with mint name APR, the other with APRŠT, both of which he ascribed to the year 62 (1983, figs. 75 and 76). The photo of the APR coin does not show the date clearly, though sŠST for 63 is likely. The other coin is clearly 63 (sŠST).

(111) Walker Ox.4 (p.84); the mint can also be read as SYPTAK, as the initial letter is either A or S. Another specimen is in the Warden-Album collection. The fact that the region around Abīward, an important site in Sasanian times, was known as Ītāk may provide a clue to the identification of this mint. The style and fabric of the AYPTAK coins are clearly Khurāsānian.

(112) The drachm of Marw 68 is unusual, in that in addition to *bism allāh* in ObQ2, it bears الله اكبر *allāh akbar* in ObQ3, the earliest known numismatic occurrence of this formula.

(113) Walker 1941, p. I (Roman numeral page number!).

(114) There is a possibility that the peculiar drachms with the inscription ŠNT AYWKW / Y YZYTW, "year one of Yazid" might have been an issue in the name of Yazīd b. Ziyād, though the contemporary

not particularly rare. One unique type bears an additional Pahlavi word, unmistakably BST, in ObQ3.[115] I have interpreted this word as Bust, the second most important city in Sīstān and the traditional base for raids against the Zunbīl of Zābulistān. Yazīd b. Ziyād launched several expeditions against the Zunbīl, losing his life in the last of these. The name BST had earlier occurred as a mint name in the usual location on the reverse for some very rare issues of Kavad I and Khusraw I.[116] Both mints used the immobilised year 56 but the coins were presumably struck circa 62-64, before the appointment of Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbd Allāh to the governorship of Sīstān.

The second special group of coins in the name of Salm comprises a number of extremely rare issues bearing Bactrian inscriptions in the reverse margin (none represented in this catalogue). These must have been struck by the Ephthalites, particularly those centred in the region of Jūzjān, for as we shall see, the reverse of one of these issues bears the name of their capital city, Anbīr. Walker published two examples of this coinage. The first piece bears an undeciphered mint name that looks rather like PHRZZ and on which Walker read the date as 63, though I would rather interpret it as 68 or PYE 38 (began 7 Dhū al-Ḥijja 69); there is what looks like a retrograde Bactrian inscription in ObQ3.[117] The mint—if PHRZZ is indeed a mint—ought to have been located in eastern Khurāsān, though not necessarily in Jūzjān province; Mochiri identifies it with Farāh in Sīstān, which is unlikely and was cautiously rejected by Walker.[118]

The second issue is rather more controversial; it bears the mint name MRW in the usual location and a somewhat deformed date legend that is probably HŠTŠS for 68, a date that is entirely consistent with the Arab-Ephthalite coinage, to which this issue undoubtedly belongs on account of its Bactrian inscription.[119] The coins bear an additional Arabic word in ObQ3, العزيز , *al-ᶜazīz*, the ninth of the Beautiful Names of God. More importantly, in RvQ1 appears the Bactrian word ομβιρο, which must assuredly be the Bactrian form of the city name Anbīr. Göbl rejected this on the basis that the mint name MRW for Marw already appears on the same side: "Nun kann OMBIRO nicht Ambar bedeuten, zumindest ist dies höchst unwahrscheinlich, da sich dies Wort auf einer Drachme aus Merw (281. Em.) im Rv. findet, dazu und wiederum auf einer Drachme aus Merw auf dem Gouverneursdirhem, den ich oben ... angeführt habe."[120] In my opinion, Göbl was misled by having assumed that even if MRW was the actual mintplace of this issue, the word ομβιρο on the reverse could not possibly refer to another city; moreover, he failed to connect ομβιρο to ANBYR (Anbīr), perhaps because Walker and others had long misread this Pahlavi inscription as HWRA, which was perceived as an abbreviation of Khurāsān. After much reflection, I have come to accept that Marw is the probable place of minting for both the Salm and the ζολοοο γοζογαvο issues; I will return to this matter in the section on Arab-Ephthalite coins. As we shall see, the Pahlavi mint name ANBYR appears as a mint name on a normal drachm of Ibn Khāzim dated 63 and of Umayyad b. ᶜAbd Allāh dated 64, and more spectacularly, on a drachm of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab dated 84 that also bears the name of the province Jūzjān twice in the reverse margin, once in Arabic and once in Bactrian.[121] Finally, both these coins bear a fourth outer circle on the reverse. Although this feature first occurs several years later in the Arab-Sasanian series, on Khusraw type coins of Dimashq dated AH 72 and on coins of Kūfa struck by Bishr b. Marwān in 73, it would likely have been known in eastern Khurāsān from the Anahita type of Khusraw II, struck sporadically from his 26th to his 37th regnal year and copied by the Ephthalites well before AH 68 (e.g., Göbl's Emission 208, a rather common type).[122] To recapitulate, this extremely rare second issue was probably struck at Marw during the year 68, the very year that is unknown on normal Marw drachms of Salm or ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, when that city was apparently occupied by the Ephthalites of Jūzjān, whose political capital was Anbīr.

ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim

The coinage of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim presents fewer anomalies than that of Salm. Only five mints are known, Abarshahr, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Anbīr and the camp mint BBA, all clearly in Khurāsān. Coins of Marw are by far the most plentiful and are known from every year from 63 through 73, except 68.[123] Only the coin of Anbīr requires

caliph, Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiya, is also a candidate. Mochiri published two examples, one with an APD obverse of Khusraw II, the other with a *bism allāh rabbī* obverse of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (Mochiri 1986, nos. 19 and 1, respectively). Both are struck from the same reverse die, an important feature ignored by Mochiri. The obverse dies of Khusraw and Ziyād both appear to be genuine, thus most likely being purloined dies in the possession of an illicit mint. Mochiri's attempt to assign these to the Yazīdiya is unconvincing, though his interpretation of the reverse inscription seems secure. More likely, they are illegitimate coins from a mint that was somehow attempting to recognise someone named Yazīd, either one of the two persons noted above, or someone else known or unknown to history. The style of these coins suggests that they were struck around the 60s and possibly in Khurāsān (but definitely not in Sīstān, where Yazīd b. Ziyād governed).

(115) Warden-Album collection, still unpublished.

(116) Mochiri 1983, p. 152.

(117) Walker 150 (p.83). Mochiri published another specimen from the same dies, rather battered and ex-mount, so that the Bactrian inscription is largely effaced (1983, pp. 155-157, fig.417). For further discussion of this piece see the Arab-Ephthalite section.

(118) Mochiri 1983, p. 155; Walker 1941, p. cxxv.

(119) Walker 138 (p.81). The same coin is noted by Göbl (1967, v.1, p. 191), who regarded the date as "undeutlich and daher zweifelhaft".

(120) Göbl 1967, v.1, p. 191. Emission 281 is illustrated on Plate 74.

(121) Walker 1952, pp. 108-109, no. 3. See also footnote (124) below.

(122) Göbl 1967, v.1, pp. 142-145. For the Arab-Sasanian issues, see Walker 1952, pp. 106-108 and Treadwell 1999, pp. 242-243.

(123) All listed by Walker, except 71, which is in the Warden-Album collection. Walker has also shown that all attributions of non-Khurāsānian coins to this governor by earlier authors were based on misreadings.

Here is a list of known dates of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, based on Walker, the Warden-Album collection, Paris, the ANS and the Malek collection:

further comment. The piece is clearly dated 63, in the form TLTŠST, a spelling that normally indicates an especially careful intention. The mint is very clearly ANBYR, but was read by Walker as HWRA, based on a confusion with the name HWRASAN that appears on some rare coins of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh struck during the third sub-phase; the same incorrect reading was accepted by Göbl and Gaube. The association of ANBYR with Jūjzān on the coins of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab noted in the previous paragraph clinches the argument in favor of Anbīr. It should also be noted that انبير, *anbīr*, is known as a post-reform dirham mint for the year 79.[124]

Another feature of the Khurāsānian coinage of Salm and Ibn Khāzim is the frequency of countermarks, most of which are associated with the district of Jūzjān, insofar as they often bear titles or symbols that are found on the Arab-Ephthalite types associated with that province (Emissions 273-281). Of the 77 coins of these two governors in the British Museum published by Walker, 66 are countermarked. Sears has shown that there are tremendous differences between the proportion of countermarking on coins struck in different provinces, from very few (e.g. Baṣra) to a substantial minority.[125]

In my own experience, coins of Salm and Ibn Khāzim abound only in eastern hoards, i.e., their circulation rarely took them westwards. The Damascus hoard published by al-ʿUsh contains no coins whatsoever of either governor, out of a total of 122 Arab-Sasanian drachms, and only one countermarked piece (no. 10, a drachm of SK 48 with *bism allāh rabbī*). By contrast, the Year 72 hoard which presumably has an eastern provenance (it was reportedly brought from Pakistan), shows an entirely different picture. Of the 118 Arab-Sasanian drachms in the hoard, 20 are of Salm, 23 of Ibn Khāzim, and 58 (49%) are countermarked.[126]

There is one further comment concerning the coinage of Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim in Khurāsān. In my opinion, many of the coins are not authentic mint products but imitations, probably struck at undetermined mints under Ephthalite control, but bearing the mint signatures of their prototypes, most often MRW. These coins are distingushed by fabric, style and weight: the planchets tend to be thinner and broader, the engraving is shallower, the weight standard seems to be lower, perhaps in the region of 3.5g or less (though one group appears to weigh something on the order of 3.6 to 3.85g). Most of the coins are countermarked, typically three to five times. Most bear truncated dates; frequently, the element for "sixty" is written šT instead of the proper šST. Examples of this coinage are Walker B.24 and B.25, drachms in the name of Salm b. Ziyād bearing the mint name Marw and the dates 64 and 67, respectively. Their weights are 3.10g and 3.22g, yet they exhibit no traces of clipping.[127] It is possible that much of the recorded mint and date overlap between the coins of Salm and Ibn Khāzim is due to these imitations. The matter remains unresearched, but should prove interesting, given that both the originals and the alleged imitations are abundantly represented in modern collections.

ANBYR 63

APRŠT 65, 67, 68, 69

BBA 67, 68

MRW 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73

MRWRWT 69, 70

(124) Balog 1970. The same reading of ANBYR applies as well to the Arab-Ephthalite coins of Emissions 273-281, including nos. 7-9 in the present catalogue, which are republished here. On these coins, the final part of the mint name, YR, often looks like the letter A, due to the restricted space when engraved to the left of the attendants. On the two Arab-Sasanian specimens of ANBYR published by Walker, on which the mint name appears in its normal position to the right of the attendants, the final part has more room and is clearly YR (Walker 166, year 63 of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, and Walker 209, year 64 of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh). Moreover, the third letter is B rather than R; if it were R, it would be attached to the following Y and not extended below it.

Miscellaneous governors

As noted already, the remaining fourteen governors attested during the second sub-phase probably account for no more than 5% of extant coins of the period. While their proper identifications and mint associations are undoubtedly important for political and possibly sectarian history, their existence is relatively unimportant for the broader outlines of numismatic history. For that reason, they are mentioned here only cursorily, though further analyses of most of these officials should be of significant historical value.

Zubayrid governors:

Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, brother of ʿAbd Allāh, whose coins are known from Baṣra 66, from Dasht Maysān in 67, and from several Kirmān mints between 69 and 71. His coins are the second least rare of any of the "rare" fourteen. The Kirmān issues retain the unexplained BPRWYAN (or variants thereof) of his brother's earlier issues.[128] The coins of DŠT bear the Arabic name مصعب (Muṣʿab) in ObQ3, apparently the earliest example of an official's name on an Arab-Sasanian drachm in Arabic. If correctly attributed, the coin of Baṣra is remarkable, as it bears the inscription حسبه الله, *ḥasabahu allāh*, in ObQ2.[129]

al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿĀmir), known from three mints in southern Iraq, namely Baṣra, Dasht Maysān and the unidentified mint I have reluctantly called

(125) Walker 1941, p. cxlii. Sears has shown me some as yet unpublished investigations of countermarking, in which he carefully examined the number of marks on drachms from various regions and found dramatic differences in the proportion of countermarked coins between eastern and western provinces.

(126) First half of hoard in Album 1992, second group still unpublished.

(127) Walker 1941, p. 80. There are at least ten such coins in the Paris collection. Unfortunately, I was unable to weigh the coins during my brief visit to Paris. However, over the past 20-odd years I have handled several dozen of these crude alleged imitations, many, if not most, weighing between 3.1 and 3.4 grams and epigraphically quite distinct from the normal issues of Salm and Ibn Khāzim. I must reiterate that a thorough study of the coins of these two governors should yield important and interesting results.

(128) The meaning of BPRWYAN, already mentioned in the section on ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, has long been debated. Kolesnikov suggests that it should refer to a local sub-governor or financial director; he read the word as BPRNAG and suggests the name Bafarnag (1998, p. 194). This strikes me as the best suggestion thus far, though it

"SYWKY", all dated AH 65.[130] Until very recently, all coins of this governor were misattributed to Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh of the third sub-phase.

ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbd Allāh (b. ᶜĀmir), known only from Bīshāpūr in 66 and 67, as already noted; these drachms bear the short *shahāda* in the obverse margin, بسم الله محمد رسول الله, its earliest occurrence on dated Islamic coinage.

ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, written as APDWLACYC Y / APDWLA Y AMWRAN, known only from the mint of Sīstān, dated 66 and 69 (the former possibly a frozen date)[131] and from Sīstān 72, the latter discussed amongst the experimental issues of phase 3c. The Sīstān coins have *al-ᶜazīz* in ObQ3 in addition to the usual *bism allāh* in ObQ2. The second patronymic is clearly written AMWRAN rather than AMYRAN as read by Walker, thus in the same fashion as on the coins of his father. All of his coins remain extremely rare.

ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh (b. Khālid b. Asīd), whose coins are inscribed APDWLACYC Y APDWLA without the second patronymic expression Y AMWRAN (b. ᶜAmir) and are known from ART and TART, both dated 74, the latter having appeared in modest quantities in recent years. Both mints use the normal word HFTAT for 70, but coins of ART bear the word CHAR for "4" whereas TART uses the Pahlavi numeral form. The latter form has traditionally been read as a curious form of AYW for '1', whence the year has been interpreted as 71. DeShazo has shown conclusively that the date must be 74, not 71 as assumed by Walker and and most other scholars, myself included. He thus concludes that the individual mentioned on these coins is the brother of Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh (b. Khālid b. Asīd), thus different from the individual cited on the coins of Sīstān in 66, 69 and 72.[132]

Strictly speaking, now that the date of the TART coins has been securely read as 74 rather than 71, this ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAzīz should be moved to the third sub-phase.

Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh (b. Khāzim), known only from a unique coin of Harāt dated 67 in the Heberden collection (cat. 308).

Marwānid governors:

Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbd Allāh (al-Khuzāᶜī), known only from Sīstān with dates 64 and 66, both of which may have become frozen years, after having been introduced as authentic years. In ObQ2, his drachms bear the motto طلحة لله, *ṭalḥa lillāh*, instead of the usual *bism allāh*. In recent years, coins of Ṭalḥa have become the least rare of all the miscellaneous governors of the sub-phase 3b.

ᶜAttāb b. Warqā', known only from Jayy 68, apparently still unique. His coins bear simply *bism allāh* in the obverse margin, together with the "GM" monogram in ObQ1, similar to earlier coins of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād and ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr struck at this mint between 60 and 63.[133]

Unidentified governors (all extremely rare):

ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. (Madūr?), APWLAZYC Y MDWRAN, known only from a unique drachm of Iṣṭakhr 61 in the Hermitage.[134]

Muṣᶜab? b. ABAWRA or ABWDWRA (defective Abū Dulaf?), known only from Jayy dated 67.[135]

Qaṭān b. (ᶜUdayy?), known only from Harāt 67. The name is written KATAN / AWTYA without either the *iḍāfa* or the filial ending -AN.[136] As all of the few rare examples of this type exhibit rather coarse epigraphy and design, it is conceivable that all known specimens are imitative, presumably based on a type that is presently unknown.

Mālik b. (ᶜAwṣ?), known only from Sīstān dated 66, where the date is probably a frozen year. There are four distinct governors known with the year 66, then no coins until the year 72 save for the unique 69 coin of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh. In light of the frequent use of frozen years in Sīstān, it would make sense that the year 66 was retained on all coins certainly until 69 and possibly as late as 71 or 72.[137]

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remains speculative, especially because no local official is known with a name of that sort.

(129) Walker I.42 (p.102); Walker questions the date, though his drawing shows the commencement of the date clear as šš for '6'; the second part of the date is somewhat less clear, though it seems to be a somewhat truncated version of šst for '60'. I strongly believe that the date is indeed 66. Unfortunately, the coin is not illustrated.

(130) The first two strokes of this mint name look more like S than A, and even more like two repetitions of the letter normally read as Y or D or G. Whatever the correct reading, the presence of this mint among the rare issues of al-Ḥārith strongly suggests a location not far from Baṣra (Sotheby's, 25 March 2000, lot 234, with correct identification; another specimen was published in 1969 by Naqshabandi, no. 68, p. 120, with mint name SYWKAN, which he read as Zanjān and assigned to Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh). The Sotheby coin has the mint name SYWKY, the Naqshabandi coin SYWKAN; it is not clear whether the two forms refer to one and the same locality, though it seems likely to me that they might.

(131) Due to the variation of the ornamention around the word *al-ᶜazīz* in ObQ3, Kolesnikov suggested that the year 66 was a frozen date until at least 68 (1998, p. 201). The year 69 was correctly published by Shams-Eshragh, p. 91, no. 121, illustrated with a very clear photo.

(132) DeShazo 2000. The correct readings are fortunately very clear in the accompanying illustrations. Interestingly, another example of ART 74 was noted by Walker (Sch.4, p. 96), but as it was not illustrated in the Schulman catalogue and its subsequent location was unknown, Walker wisely doubted its existence.

(133) Still unpublished, in the Warden-Album collection. The drachm of Jayy 68 in the name of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād may well be a muling of an old obverse of that governor with a reverse intended for ᶜAttāb (Walker B.16, p. 69). If that is true, then one might presume that little or no coinage was manufactured at Jayy in 64, 65 and 66, dates which remain unknown for this mint (67 is also exceedingly rare).

(134) Kolesnikov 1998, p. 384, no. 119. The name, mint and date are clear in the illustration.

(135) Gaube 65 (= Guillot 97), Mochiri 1986, no. 113 (same dies). Mochiri ignored Gaube's study and everything else written in German. I have recently examined the Paris specimen and determined that the date is clearly 67 and not 70 as read by Mochiri (Gaube and Guillot both read 67), though in the rather grainy illustration of the Paris specimen in Mochiri 1986, the date could be seen as HFTAT for 70. Nor does the name in the upper line look like MWCP. Whatever it is, it clearly lacks the *iḍāfa*. Further study is needed.

(136) The name is discussed by Mochiri, who suggests that it is not a name at all but the title *kūhistān khudāy*, an interpretation that

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿArīq (or Ḥarīq), known only from Sīstān and dated 66, probably yet another occurrence of a frozen year. The patronymic is very clearly either ARYKAN or HRYKAN, given that Pahlavi A and H are frequently interchangeable.[138]

Aṣram b. SWPHAN, known only from Jayy in the year 70. Although the patronymic is very clear, it has not been matched to any known Arabic or non-Arabic name.[139]

There is also a strange drachm, struck at ŠTWRSTAN (presumably Shahristān) and dated AH 67, with a name that Mochiri has deciphered as TAY Y PYLGWN and Kolesnikov as TAR Y PYLZWR, which they interpret respectively as either "Ṭā'ī, of elephant hotheadedness" or "Tār, son of Pilzor" (but without the normal -AN suffix of a patronymic).[140] I am not persuaded by either explanation and prefer to regard the interpretation of the name legend as unresolved, though I agree that Mochiri's reconstruction of the second element as PYLGWN fits the orthography of that word better than does Kolesnikov's suggestion. As for the mint, both authors associate it with the city of Shahristān that lay on the frontier of Jurjān and Khurāsān provinces to the northwest of Nīshāpūr/Abarshahr. Shahristān's importance in the Umayyad period is unknown, but the city briefly appeared as a mint during the late Īlkhān period, some 650 years later. In my opinion, so westerly a location seems unlikely, on account of the pellets flanking the top star-and-crescent on the reverse, a feature found only at Marw from 67 to 70 and at Marw al-Rūdh in 69 and 70; they never appear at Abarshahr or Harāt, the western and central mints of Khurāsān. Secondly, both the words "TAR" and PYLGWN are also found as countermarks, the first on the Shahristān 67 coin itself, the second on, amongst others, a coin of Salm b. Ziyād struck at Abarshahr in 63.[141] Thirdly, the presence of GDH AFZWN (sic) in the reverse margin suggests a relation to the Arab-Ephthalite coinage, as on types Göbl 273 ff. For these reasons, I would prefer to locate the mint of this coin somewhere in eastern Khurāsān, to the east of the Muslim lands, and to regard it as the issue of some Ephthalite or eastern Iranian local potentate who, for whatever reason, chose to include the phrase *bism allāh* on his coinage, just as the rulers of Jūzjān were doing at the same time. The mint name ŠTWRSTAN need not refer to a specific locality; as a Pahlavi word, it simply means "province", "capital" or "city"; it is a term that is frequently applied as a city name, both in ancient and modern times.[142]

It is also during phase 3b that the first local Khusraw type coinage appears in Sīstān, which Sears has identified as Class II (see the section on later Sīstān). Two issues are noteworthy, one bearing what appear to be the three Pahlavi letters DWM in ObQ1, the other bearing the Arabic الله ولى عون, *allāh wallā ʿawn*, "God placed in office ʿAwn" in ObQ1, though there is some uncertainty about the correct reading of the final word.[143] Both bear the name legend AWSRWY and *bism allāh rabbī* in the obverse margin, as was characteristic of nearly all drachms of Sīstān for more than 120 years, starting during the governorship of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. The mint signature is SK and the date is illegibly engraved, though the DWM type must have been struck before AH 72, on the basis of hoard evidence.[144] The two are stylistically very similar and appear to be the product of the same workshop, though it cannot be determined if they were struck simultaneously or sequentially. Their style is very different from, and rather finer than, the gubernatorial types of Sīstān struck during the 60s and 70s, whence it is conceivable that they were produced outside the provincial capital, Zaranj. Once regarded as great rarities, both types are now fairly common. Given the large number of dies observed by Sears, both the DWM and the *allāh wallā ʿawn* issues must have been reasonably massive.[145]

Third phase, third sub-phase (3c) (AH 72-85)

While most of the coinage of this sub-phase follows patterns similar to that of phase 3b, there are some notable exceptions. First of all, there are a number of "experimental" designs used on silver drachms struck in Syria, Iraq and Sīstān, most of which bear images that modify or reject Sasanian

requires rather too much orthographic licence. At present, I would cautiously regard the undeciphered legend as an utterly uncertain inscription, perhaps a name, perhaps something else.

(137) Mochiri has discussed this coin in some detail. He reads the date as 62 but his photo shows that it is clearly 66 (1983, pp. 419-426).

(138) Walker 241 (p.121); Mochiri published a somewhat less clipped specimen (1986, pp. 56-57, no. 110), where he misread the date as 63. The legend in ObQ2 is clearly not *bism allāh*, but on all known specimens the margin is too severely clipped to enable the legend to be read.

(139) Walker Cam.14 (p.122). Walker read the initial name as Aslam, which is also possible (L and R are written identically in Pahlavi), and noted that the same specimen had already been published by Edward Thomas in 1850. Both the names Aslam and Aṣram are attested in the first century of the Hijra (e.g., in the index to Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*).

(140) Mochiri 1986, pp. 58-59; Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 183-184.

(141) Walker 109 (p.74). The second countermark was published by Walker as no. 44. The first mark was unknown to both Walker and Göbl, but is very clear in Mochiri's illustration.

(142) MacKenzie 1971, p. 79. This coin provides an instructive example of my contention that a general localisation of a coin is more important and potentially more fruitful than a precise identification of the mint. It is probable that this coin forms part of an ephemeral series parallel to the Jūzjān series and from a nearby location. The interpretation of the mint as the Shahristān slightly east of Jurjān, tempting as it might seem, impedes any attempt to seek an alternative location, in particular, to recognise its stylistic similarity to contemporary Ephthalite or Arab-Ephthalite issues from eastern Khurāsān.

There is a similar complication regarding the identification of the mint name *shahristān* under the later Īlkhāns. The type KF silver dinar of Shahristān dated AH 742, in the name of Ṭaghāy Timūr (Tübingen GL2 D1-D2), is clearly an issue of the Shahristān in Jurjān province, since type KF (Album no. 2245) could only have been struck in western Khurāsān and Jurjān provinces. On the other hand, there was a mint known as Shahristān-i Rashīdī, a suburb of Tabrīz founded by the vizier and historian Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, where coins were struck during the 730s, the best known of which is the double dirham of Abū Saʿīd bearing the *khānī* date 33 or 34, equivalent to AH 734-736. There are also a number of gold and copper coins that bear the simple mint name *shahristān*, struck from the 710s and early 740s. The correct mint attribution of these coins requires an understanding of the context in which they were struck.

(143) Walker Th.2 (p.18) and Th.3 (p.22). Walker read the dates as 45 and 61 (queried), respectively. The date on Th.2 certainly does resemble PNCCHYL for 45, but on other specimens of this type, the date is either a blundered 48 or completely undecipherable. The date on Th.3 is completely barbarous; even its prototype cannot be reconstructed.

typology (Arab-Sasanian coppers utilised a wide repertoire of images, commencing late in the silver phase 3c, beginning circa 77-79, as described in the section concerning copper coinage). Secondly, there is the occasional use of name legends in Arabic, either in the normal position in front of the bust on the obverse or in the obverse margin. Finally, there is the great reform of ʿAbd al-Malik and the introduction of the reform dirham, in two stages, between 78 and 79.[146]

As in the second sub-phase, coins of most of the 22 individuals found in phase 3c are extremely rare and largely irrelevant to the main thrust of development of the Arab-Sasanian coinage. The experimental types constitute the exception, by virtue of their remarkable iconography and despite their great rarity. The only officials whose coins are common are al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. Coins of ʿAṭīya b. al-Aswad and Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a are only moderately rare. The other 16 are seldom encountered, save for the Bīshāpūr types of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh and the Sīstān issue of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, both of which were extremely rare before the 1980s. The number of active mints remains more or less unchanged from the second sub-phase, but there is a noticeable change in their distribution. The mints of Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān provinces remain essentially the same as before. Four mints are known from Khurāsān, each for a single issue, none represented by more than about three surviving specimens. Jayy remains the only mint in the Jibāl, but both the mints of Baṣra and Kūfa briefly come back into production, both during the years 73-75, Kūfa alone in 79, Baṣra alone in 83. Finally, a few rare coins were struck at Dimashq from 72 to 75 and at Ḥimṣ in 72, undoubtedly as part of the experimentation aimed towards creating a universal silver coinage for the Umayyad caliphate.

Experimental types

Given their importance in the development of Islamic coinage and the great deal of attention that has been rightly lavished upon them, the "experimental" types are discussed first. They also fit entirely into the first four years of the sub-phase, 72-75, with the possible exception of the undated so-called *miḥrāb* and *ʿanaza* type.

The **first** of the experimental types to be considered, and probably one of the earliest, if not the earliest, is the unique coin of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir struck at Sīstān and clearly dated 72 (DWHFTAT).[147] The obverse is identical to the normal year 66 issue of the same governor except for the breast ornament, B5 instead of B0, and the presence of two mysterious objects in ObQ1; the double patronymic is also retained. The reverse is utterly new, with the entire pictorial device replaced with a three-line Pahlavi legend that is in effect a translation of the *shahāda*, which Mochiri renders as "One God, but He / another god does-not-exist. / Muḥammad (is) the messenger of God." The mint and date are below and above the *shahāda*, in other words, in their usual positions if the coin is held so that the lines of the *shahāda* are vertical. Although the coin is elegantly engraved, far neater than the norm for the province, and both mint and date are indisputably clear, the authenticity of both the governor's name and date has been questioned. Sears took the symbols in ObQ1 to be the Arabic letters A B and interpreted them as the initials of Abū Bardhāʿa, who briefly governed Sīstān after the disastrous defeat of his father ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra near Bust in 79. He assigned the coin to late 79 or early 80, thus late enough to have acquired the *shahāda* from an early post-reform gold or silver coin.[148] However, the ObQ1 objects are not Arabic A B in any form of epigraphy used in Umayyad times, and must thus represent something else, perhaps a bow and arrow, similar to the bow and arrow ornament that would frequently be used on Seljuq dinars some four centuries later. Since the "initials" were the only link offered by Sears to Abū Bardhāʿa, that attribution must now be cast into doubt. It should also be noted that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had been a Zubayrid, so it seems implausible that any later, non-Zubayrid, governor of Sīstān would have revived his name after his flight from the province in either 72 or 73. It is therefore entirely reasonable to assume that the coin was indeed struck by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the year 72, as has already been suggested by Ilisch.[149]

The **second** experimental issue presents no such problems. This issue comprises the very rare Khusraw type drachms struck from 72 to 74 at Dimashq and in 72 at Ḥimṣ, the former extremely rare, the latter a unique coin in the Shamma collection (cat. 305).[150] The imagery of both obverse and reverse is standard, though instead of the name of a governor or caliph, the name of Khusraw is restored to its normal location. However, an important innovation is the inclusion of the *shahāda* in the obverse margin, the short formula بسم الله محمد رسول الله in the year 72, the long formula, بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله during 73 and 74. Another innovation is the inscribing of the mint and date in Arabic. The mint and date are in their usual positions, but with two variations. On all drachms of 72, some of 73, and one of 74, the mint is to the left and the date to the right. On the rest dated 73 and most dated 74, the mint is to the right and the date to the left. The series has been investigated by Bates as part

(144) Two examples of the DWM type were present in the Year 72 hoard (second part, publication forthcoming by the author). Hoard evidence is lacking for the ʿAwn type, but the style suggests a relatively early date, most likely in the 60s or 70s.

(145) Sears 1996, pp. 19-20.

(146) The silver coinage reform of ʿAbd al-Malik was implemented in two stages. In the year 78, reform dirhams were struck at al-Kūfa, Armīnīya and Ādharbāyjān, examples of which are today exceedingly rare. In the following year, the design was somewhat modified; dirhams with the new pattern were struck at over thirty mints in the year 79, of which only Baṣra and Dimashq are reasonably common (unique dirhams of year 78 in this style are known from Shaqq al-Taymara [ANS collection] and Jayy [Peus Auktion 369, no. 1467]). The dirhams of 78 are discussed in detail by R. Darley-Doran, with full references, in his commentary to lot 132 (al-Kūfa 78) in Sotheby's, London, 25 May 1999, except for Jayy 78, which was only discovered in 2001.

(147) Mochiri 1982, pp. 168-172.

(148) Sears 1989, especially pp. 147-149 and 155-156. Both Mochiri and Sears imply that the Pahlavi *shahāda* must have been the translation of an Arabic original *on a coin*, but there is no reason to assume that the inspiration for placing these revered words on this drachm must have derived from another coin. The concept and the formula must surely have been known and appreciated by just about

of his important study of the early Syrian coinage of Damascus.[151]

The **third** experimental type is the well-known *orans* drachm, struck by by the caliph's brother and governor of Baṣra, Bishr b. Marwān at Kūfa in 73, 74 and 75 and at Baṣra in 75, the subject of a comprehensive study by Treadwell in 1999. The obverse type is normal, with the Pahlavi name BŠYR Y MRWANAN, and either the long or the short *shahāda*, as at Dimashq. The reverse, instead of the fire-altar and attendants, bears a group of three standing figures. The central figure is frontal and holds his hands up in what is traditionally regarded as an attitude of prayer; the side figures are also frontal, but with their heads turned towards the central figure. Treadwell has demonstrated that the central figure need not necessarily be the caliph, as previously assumed, but the *khaṭīb* leading the Friday prayer, though the addition of the name بشر بن مروان, *bishr bin marwān*, in Arabic below the reverse on the earliest issue, suggests that at first the image may have been intended to represent Bishr as *khaṭīb*.[152] The *orans* type is not as rare as the other experimental types; Treadwell has enumerated 19 obverse and 20 reverse dies among 22 specimens, a clear indication that the production of this issue must have been very large, but the survival rate poor.[153] Another interesting aspect of this coinage is the use of Pahlavi numerals for the date on coins of Kūfa struck in 74 and 75.

The **fourth** experimental issue is the standing caliph drachm dated 75 and without mint name, first published by Nützel about a century ago, later re-examined by Walker in 1952.[154] The obverse is identical to the 73 and 74 drachms of Dimashq, except that the Pahlavi legends behind and before the bust have been replaced by the date formula in Arabic, ضرب في سنة خمس / وسبعين ("struck in the year five and seventy"); the long *shahāda* is retained in the margin, and arranged in the same fashion as before, epigraphically almost identical to the Dimashq types of 73-74. The reverse, however, is radically different, for instead of the fire-altar and attendants, it has just the single figure of a man with a sheathed sword. To the left is the Arabic امير المؤمنين, *amīr al-mu'minīn*, "commander of the believers"; to the right, خلفت الله (sic), *khal[ī]fat allāh*, "caliph of God". The type is known as the standing caliph drachm on account of the inscription and the standing figure, which very closely resembles contemporary gold and copper coinage of Syria. It bears no mint name, but is presumed to have been struck at Damascus.[155] Only the year 75 is known.

The **fifth** and final experimental issue is the lovely drachm currently known as the *miḥrāb* and *ʿanaza* issue, which unfortunately lacks both mint and date, and is thus somewhat difficult to place both geographically and chronologically.[156] The obverse bears an unusual variant of the bust, with a different headdress and different clothing. The Pahlavi inscriptions are standard, AFZWT and GDH behind the bust, AWSRWY in front, thus identical to the Damascus issues of 72-74. The margin bears the long *shahāda* as on the later coins of the Syrian and *orans* types. The reverse has a completely new design, an arch on pillars within which stands an upraised spear, flanked by the same legends, *amīr al-mu'minīn* and *khalīfat allāh*, with the same anomalous spelling خلفت الله as on the standing caliph drachm (fourth experimental issue). Between the spear and the pillars of the arch appears the Arabic inscription نصره الله, *naṣṣarahu allāh*, "may God grant him victory". There are at least two variants of the type, and probably at least four dies known for each side.

Standard coinage: al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra

We can now turn to the standard coinage of the period, beginning with the most common governors, followed by the scarce ones, then the 15 rare ones, beginning with al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. With a few exceptions, his coinage is entirely from mints in Fārs. It is known from Ardashīr Khurra 76, Bīshāpūr 75-76, Dārābjird 76, Iṣṭakhr 76 and 78, Tawwaj (TART) 75-76 and Yazd 75-76; issues of Bīshāpūr alone probably account for 70% or more of his extant coins. The only post-76 types are the rare drachm of Iṣṭakhr dated 78 (al-Muhallab apparently remained governor of Iṣṭakhr under al-Ḥajjāj from 76 to 78), as well as the extremely rare drachms of KRMAN-NAR dated 76, 77 and 78 and KRMAN-NAWGY dated 78.[157] His coins from

every Muslim, even in remote Sīstān.

(149) Lutz Ilisch, [review of Sears' article in AJN, vol.1] in *Der Islam*, v. 69/2, 1992, pp. 381-382.

(150) Dimashq 72 and 73 and Ḥims 72 are nos. 278-279 and no. 305; Dimashq 74 is Walker DD.1 (p.23), now in the ANS.

(151) Bates 1986, pp. 246, 249-250. For the most recent list of known specimens, see Peus Auktion 363, 26 April 2000, p. 54, in the discussion of lot 5649 by Lutz Ilisch. The unpublished Paris specimen of 74 is not included in Ilisch's enumeration (1965.472). According to my notes, the Paris specimen has the mint on the left, as in 72 and 73; this has been confirmed by Tony Goodwin, who kindly examined the coins during a recent visit to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

(152) Treadwell 1999, pp. 253-255; the question of the identity of the central figure is more complex than is summarised here, as indicated by Treadwell.

(153) At the present time, it cannot be determined whether such a low ratio of coins to dies is anomalous for the Arab-Sasanian series, for the simple reason that no die studies have yet been undertaken for any series other than the *orans* drachms. However, Sears has found something on the order of 20-25 obverse dies amongst 30+ specimens of year 79 drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (personal communication), thereby suggesting that his SK 79 coinage was indeed a very large production.

(154) Walker 1952, p. 110, no. 4.

(155) Bates 1986, p. 254.

(156) See Walker ANS.5 (p.24), the first publication of this extremely rare type, which later formed the subject of a seminal study by Miles (1952). See also Bates (1986, p. 255), who regards the type as probably having been struck at Damascus at some time between 75 and 79. At the time of writing, Treadwell is working on a thorough study of this type, hopefully to appear in 2002; he will suggest that the reverse arch should not be interpreted as a *miḥrāb*.

(157) The three coins of KRMAN-NAR were published in Walker 1941; the KRMAN-NAWGY issue is Paris 1965.569. These are the only known coins struck outside Fārs. It is difficult to determine his gubernatorial activity in Kirmān from the coinage, due to the overlap of dates. From the mint of KRMAN-NAR (which if indeed Narmāshīr, as generally believed, would have been located in the east central region of the province) there are also coins dated 77 in the name of ʿAṭiya b.

Dārābjird are quite rare and are dated in the Hijrī era, 76 being the only known date. Al-Muhallab was later appointed governor of Khurāsān, from 78 until his death in 82, but no coins are known from him in that capacity.

al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf

Al-Muhallab was followed by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, whose coinage is, with the single exception of the year 76 issue of Jayy, entirely restricted to mints in Fārs, of which Bīshāpūr is again by far the most common, representing about as great a proportion of all his known coins as those of al-Muhallab, thus roughly 70%. At Bīshāpūr, every year is known from 76 to 81, and there is considerable variation amongst them.[158] The first type, known from 76 and 77 (and also from Ardashīr Khurra dated 76 and 77) is the so-called radial type, on which the long *shahāda* is arranged in short segments of a few letters each, inscribed radially in the obverse margin (cat. 215-217); these have a fourth outer marginal circle on both obverse and reverse. These handsome coins are not expecially rare but are highly prized in the numismatic market. The radial design was abandoned midway through the year 77; subsequent issues of al-Ḥajjāj at Bīshāpūr bear at first the long *shahāda* conventionally arranged (77-79), later either just *bism allāh* or *lillāh al-ḥamd* (79-81); all of these post-radial issues lack the fourth outer circle. Similar coins were struck at Ardashīr Khurra from 77 to 81, at Tawwaj from 77 to 80, at Iṣṭakhr in 80 and 81 and at Yazd in 81. The most significant innovation by al-Ḥajjāj was that his name legend was written in Arabic rather than Pahlavi on all but two rare drachms, one struck at Bīshāpūr with Hijrī date 79, the other at Fasā (DA + P), dated, as was traditional at this mint, with Yazdigerd year 71 (commenced 23 Rabīᶜ II 83); these bear the Pahlavi name legend HAKAK Y YWSPA[N].[159] The Bīshāpūr 79 drachm also bears the name FRAWZAT, Farrukhzād, apparently a local *dihqān* or other official whose name appears on both silver and copper coins struck at various mints in western Fārs from the mid to late 70s (see Appendix II). By and large, the silver coinage of al-Ḥajjāj incorporates numerous types and variations, not all of which have yet been published.[160]

Despite his innovative coinage, al-Ḥajjāj was actively involved with the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik in the abandonment of Arab-Sasanian silver coinage and the introduction of the post-reform dirham. The only drachm in his name after 81 is the Fasā coin of YE 71, described in the previous paragraph. Other late Arab-Sasanian coinage consists of issues of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Ashᶜath) dated 80-83, of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī (blundered date), and of four additional individuals, dated between 83 and 85, listed at the end of this sub-phase. Although al-Ḥajjāj remained in power until his death in 95, there are no post-81 silver coins bearing his name save the Fasā item already discussed.

The only issues of al-Ḥajjāj outside Fārs comprise two spectacular drachms of Jayy, both dated 76. As for the first type, its obverse bears the same radial style obverse as coins of Bīshāpūr and Ardashīr Khurra struck in 76 and 77, including the extra outer circles on both faces. The reverse is remarkable, for it bears the mint and date in their customary positions, but in Arabic instead of Pahlavi. In the outer margin (RvQ1 and RvQ2) is an Arabic inscription, which Curiel has read as ضرب البراء بن قبيصة, *ḍaraba al-barā' bin qabīṣa*; the orthography of much of the Arabic is, however, unconventional, undoubtedly because the die-cutter was unfamiliar with this script. Curiel was able to identify this individual as al-Barā' b. Qabīṣa al-Thaqafī, who had been named by al-Ḥajjāj in AH 76 to succeed ᶜAttāb b. Warqā' as governor of Iṣfahān.[161] The second piece is entirely different, for it bears the name legend of Ḥajjāj in Pahlavi; moreover, the obverse marginal legend consists of *bism allāh* in ObQ2 and the Pahlavi name BRA Y KPYCAN still within ObQ2. This second type was briefly mentioned by Curiel in his 1967 article, but never published; however, another specimen was published by Tabataba'i in 1993.[162]

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Ashᶜath)

The use of an Arabic name legend was continued by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, the last governor to strike coinage in Fārs. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, better known as Ibn al-Ashᶜath, had been sent out in 80 by al-Ḥajjāj to settle the affairs of Sīstān after the disastrous defeat of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra in the previous year. Urged on by his largely Iraqi soldiery, he rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj and the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik, and prepared to advance against Iraq. Successfully taking over Kirmān and Fārs, he ultimately met defeat at the hands of al-Ḥajjāj, but thereafter held out for two or three more years in Sīstān. His defeat by al-Ḥajjāj occurred either in 82 or 83, and his death in or near Sīstān almost certainly in 85. His coinage is extremely rare, though quite a few mints and types are known; a thorough analysis of his diverse coinage might help resolve the current difficulties in dating his rebellion.[163] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān's name occurs in Arabic only on drachms of

al-Aswad. If the date of the ᶜAṭīya issue is authentic, then we would have to assume that the al-Muhallab issue dated 76 is the muling of an obverse of al-Muhallab (used 77-78) with an old reverse die from the time of ᶜAṭīya (the year 76 issue of KRMAN-NAR in the name of ᶜAṭīya is noted in Sears' dissertation, but without reference or illustration). Given that there are no pre-76 coins of al-Muhallab from Kirmān province and year 77 types from three different mints in the name of al-ᶜAṭīya, I would be inclined to suggest that ᶜAṭīya remained governor until some time in 77 and was succeeded by al-Muhallab, then subordinate governor of Iṣṭakhr, for the remaining months of 77 and the beginning of 78. From the coins of seven different mints within the province, all dated 78, it is clear that his son Yazīd b. al-Muhallab took over the entire province during that year.

(158) Bīshāpūr drachms published by Walker and others allegedly dated 83 are actually dated 80, written as HYŠTAT, an unusually lengthy method of indicating the number "eighty". The same form of 80 is also found on Bīshāpūr coins in the name of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad dated 82 (cat. 230) and 83 (Warden-Album).

(159) Walker Th.16 (p.119) and Warden-Album collection, respectively. An inferior specimen of the Fasā coin was published by Curiel (1966, pp. 63-64); he read the date as "n[whp]tat" for 79, the bracketed letters being obscured by a large hole. Other specimens of this type clearly show that the correct reading of the date is AYWHFTAT.

(160) See Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 214-222, for the most recent analysis of Ḥajjāj's coinage.

(161) Curiel 1967, pp. 103 ff.

(162) Curiel 1967, p. 114. The two coins are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 1965.571 and 1968.849, respectively. For the more recent

Bīshāpūr 81 and 83 and Iṣṭakhr 82.[164] All others, including Bīshāpūr 82, have the name legend in Pahlavi. In addition to these mints, his coins were also struck at Dārābjird and its satellite Jahrum (DA + GH) with the Yazdigerd year 70 (began 16 Rabīᶜ II 82), KRMAN-HPYC 83, and Sīstān for all years 80 through 83.[165] There is considerable variation in the obverse marginal inscription; in addition to the usual *bism allāh*, there is *al-ḥamd lillāh* on Bīshāpūr 81 and 83, هداه الله و نصره, *hadāhu allāh wa naṣṣarahu* on Bīshāpūr 82, بسم الله رب حرسه, *bism allāh rabbu ḥarasahu*, "in the name of God, may his Lord protect him" on the drachms of Dārābjird. The Kirmān drachm has the Pahlavi word RWBAK, "current", after the usual *bism allāh*, followed by a short unread word or abbreviation. Most coins of Bīshāpūr bear the name legend MNSWR (in ObQ3), as do those of Iṣṭakhr dated 82; on one type of Bīshāpūr 81, this word is repeated in Arabic in RvQ1 as منصور, thus confirming the Pahlavi on the obverse and supporting the assumption that the word is a name, presumably of an official of undetermined nature.[166]

The caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

Coins of three other persons are seen with some frequency, the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, the Khārijite Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, and the Kirmānī governor, ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad. For the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān we have only some rare drachms of Ardashīr Khurra dated 73, an apparently unique drachm of Marw 75, and rather common drachms of the three Dārābjird mints, dated 60, 63 and 65 in the Yazdigerd era.[167] The Marw coin bears the name legend ABDWLMLYK Y MRWANAN, whereas all his other coins have his name ABDLMLYK (sic) followed by the caliphal title in Pahlavi, AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN. The years 60 and 65 of the Dārābjird mints were probably frozen years, given that there are virtually no known coins of any of these mints dated YE 61-63 (there are AH 75 and 76 coins, which corresponds closely to YE 64) or YE 66-69, neither of ᶜAbd al-Malik nor of anyone else. The solitary exception is the aforementioned and apparently unique YE 63 issue of DA+GH, for which the die-cutter may have inadvertently engraved the actual year rather than the desired frozen year.

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, leader of the Azraqī Khārijites, struck coins at seven different mints in Fārs, as well as at KRMAN-BN.[168] Nearly all his coins are dated 75; the sole exceptions are a unique coin of Bīshāpūr dated 69,[169] as well as rare types of Dārābjird 76 and KRMAN-BN 77. The drachm of Jahrum, dated 75, bears the mint name as DA, above which is inscribed GARWM (or GHRWM), clearly the Pahlavi form of Jahrum (see also Appendix III).[170] The name legend is either KTRYY or APDWLA KTRYY followed by the usual caliphal title. The obverse margin is always لا حكم الا لله, *lā ḥukm illā lillāh*, "there is no judgment except God's", the standard Khārijite slogan. Only the coins of Bīshāpūr 75 are relatively common, the rest rare to extremely rare.

The apparently unique coin of Bīshāpūr 69 is difficult to explain coherently. Although it is well known that Qaṭarī was already active in 69, there is no evidence that he could have gained a foothold in Bīshāpūr during that year. Moreover, the style and epigraphy of the coin is so strikingly different from the commonplace 68-70 Bīshāpūr drachms of ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh that the dies must have been manufactured elsewhere. In fact, its overall appearance is substantially coarser than normal Fārs issues of this period, to the extent that I would not rule out the possibility that this coin is simply an imitation. Further study is needed.

There is one Khārijite issue of the time of Qaṭarī that lacks his name, instead bearing the Pahlavi equivalent of *lā ḥukm illā lillāh*, LWYTW DATWBR / BLA YYZTW, where the name legend normally appears; it is dated 75 and known only from the mint of ART (Ardashīr Khurra). Although first published by Thomas in 1850 and correctly transliterated by Salemann in 1879, Walker (1941) regarded the coin as unread.[171] However, it was Gaube (1973) who first supplied the correct interpretation of the legend, namely a Persian translation of the Arabic marginal legend. It is

specimen, Tabataba'i 1993, p. 47, lower photo. Tabataba'i failed to decipher the name of al-Barā' and misread the date as 80.

(163) See the complex discussion by L. Veccia Vaglieri, in *EI*^{2}, v.3, pp. 715-719.

(164) For BYŠ 81, Spink Zürich 31, 20 June 1989, lot 409; BYŠ 83 Warden-Album collection; ST 82, Gaube 41-42. Curiously, drachms of BYŠ 82 have the Pahlavi name legend (Walker I-50, p. 117).

(165) For DA 70, Gaube 39; DA + GH 70, Warden-Album; KRMAN-HPYC 83, Gaube 40; SK 80, no. 371 in this catalogue; SK 81, Warden-Album; SK 82, Mochiri 1983, no. 406; SK 83, Mochiri 1983, no. 407.

(166) Miles 1957, p. 204, no. 45. The name MNSWR also occurs on drachms of al-Ḥajjāj struck in Iṣṭakhr and Yazd in 81. The meaning of the name is unclear, though I would suspect that the name of some local official is more likely than an epithet to the name of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān meaning "victorious", as suggested by Miles, especially as it occurs on coins of al-Ḥajjāj as well. It is also found on some copper coins (Gyselen 2000, nos. 20 and 22, both of Iṣṭakhr). For a further comment concerning the appearance of the name Manṣūr, see Curiel 1966, pp. 67-68, where the author also suggests that MN, which appears on numerous coins of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, is perhaps an abbreviation of MNSWR. Gaube read it as MW, which he interpreted as an abbreviation of MWHALP, Muhallab (Gaube 1973, pp. 41-42). However, its appearance in ObQ3 of the YE 71 (=AH 83) coin of DA+P (Curiel 1966, p. 63, date misread as AH 79) queries the association with Muhallab. In this catalogue MW has been used for all examples (nos. 199-214, 262-263).

(167) The first two are Walker 37 (p.27) and Cam.1 (p.29); the Dārābjird coins are common, except for the year 63, struck at DA-GH, of which the only known example was in the Peus Auktion, 26 April 2000, lot 5562, now in the Malek collection.

(168) The known dates of Qaṭarī's coinage is as follows, from the same sources used for other lists in these footnotes:

ART 75
BYŠ 69, 75
DA 75, 76
DA + GHRWM 75
KRMAN-BN 77
ST 75
TART 75
YZ 75

(169) Walker I.46 (p.112).

(170) For the arguments linking DA + P to Fasā and DA + G or GH to Jahrum, see Appendix III. These and the year 76 issue of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra are the only coins of the Dārābjird mints bearing Hijrī

not known whether this issue was struck before or after the ART 75 coin bearing the name of Qaṭarī. The coin is extremely rare.

ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad

As noted in the list of rare governors in sub-phase 3b, coins were struck at the Kirmānī mints in the name of Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr during the years 69, 70 and 71. The rather extensive issues of the Khārijite governor, ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad begin later in 71. Curiously, whereas the year 71 is written on the coins of Muṣᶜab as AYWHFTAT, it is abbreviated as YHFTAT at all three mints known for ᶜAṭīya in that year. Coins of ᶜAṭīya were struck at no fewer than eight local mints in Kirmān province, dated from 71 through 77, though not every possible mint/date combination is currently attested. All coins are dated in the Hijrī calendar, except for a single issue of GRM-KRMAN dated YE 63 (began 1 Ṣafar 75).[172] Unfortunately, no thorough analysis of his coinage has yet been published, though all in all the series appears to be quite straightforward.[173] ᶜAṭīya's coins are easily recognised by their distinctive obverse marginal legend, invariably بسم الله ولي الامر, *bism allāh walī al-amr*, "in the name of God, possessor of the command". Their distinctive appearance led to their having been called "ᶜAṭawīya dirhams", according to a report of Ibn al-Athīr.[174] Although not very rare as a group, individual mint/date combinations for ᶜAṭīya are inevitably rare.

ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī

In May 2000 there appeared a remarkable and unique coin in the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir.[175] Despite its blundered date, the cataloguer presumed it to be an issue of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir b. Kurayz (41-44). I originally accepted this attribution, despite its remarkable style, which is altogether inconceivable for the second phase. In addition to the patronymic APDWLA Y AMWRAN, there appears the Arabic inscription الله ولى عبد الله / بن عامر, "God appointed ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir", in ObQ3 and ObQ4, along with the name سليم (*salīm*) in RvQ4 written in the clockwise direction.[176] I recently queried this attribution and quickly realised that the coin must be decades later than the early 40s. There are several unusual aspects: on the obverse, (1) the extremely short outer feathers on the wings, (2) the unusually large crescent above the Pahlavi name to the right of the bust, (3) the form of the uppermost line of each wing, (4) the forms of the *mīm* and *hā* in *bism allāh*, and (5) the use of *allāh wallā* before the Arabic name; on the reverse, (6) the small number of horizontal lines in the lower portion of the attendants' clothing and their roughly equal length, and (7) the blundered date. After examining these and other aspects of other coins of Sīstān, I found that the closest resemblances are to drachms of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, which are dated 79 and 80, and above all to a coin of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad dated 80 (cat. 371). In fact, it seems certain that the ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān die and some of the ᶜUbayd Allāh dies were engraved by the same craftsman who prepared the dies for ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī.[177] The clinching breakthrough came from the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, which describes the role of another ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, known as al-Mujāshiᶜi.[178] It is well known that after the death of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra either late in 79 or early in 80, al-Ḥajjāj appointed ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ashᶜath, as governor of Sīstān. According to the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, when Ibn al-Ashᶜath marched towards eastern Sīstān to fight against the Zunbīl, he nominated ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī as viceroy over Sīstān (late in 82, according to the text, but probably somewhat earlier). Shortly thereafter, Ibn al-Ashᶜash was commanded by al-Ḥajjāj to

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rather than Yazdigerd dates after the initial year 43 type of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir.

(171) Walker M.53 and T.18, pp. 122-123. The Mordtmann coin (M.53) is allegedly dated 69. See also Gaube 1973, pp. 78-79.

(172) Paris 1971.133. The date is very clear, SŠST.

(173) Back in 1941, Walker knew of only five distinct mint/dates for this governor, though he was unable to interpret the complex mint forms. In the most recent publication, Mochiri lists 21 different mint/date varieties (Mochiri 2000, p. 34). This list is also incomplete: from just the coins in the Warden-Album collection, Walker's catalogue, Paris, the present catalogue, the Malek collection and Mochiri's 1985 and 2000 articles (plus Peus Auktion 353, lot 787, and the Emirates Coin Auction no. 2, lot 15), I have found 43 different mint/date issues, to which I can add a 44th (GRM-KRMAN 72) that will appear on my price list no. 171 or 172. Sears has researched this series in considerable detail and has recently informed me that he will shortly be publishing a major study of the Arab-Sasanian coinage of Kirmān province.

The mints known for ᶜAṭīya, together with the dates known to me, are as follows (all dates are Hijrī, except GRM-KRMAN 63):

KRMAN	71, 72, 73, 74, 75
KRMAN-ANAN	72
KRMAN-AN(W)	72, 74
KRMAN-BN	71, 72, 74, 76, 77
GRM-KRMAN	63, 72
KRMAN-GY	73, 74, 75, 76
KRMAN-HPYC	72, 73, 74, 75
KRMAN-NAR	71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77
KRMAN-NAT (or AT)	72, 73, 75
KRMAN-NAW	74, 75
KRMAN-NAWGY	72, 73, 75, 77
KRMAN-NHAT	75
KRMAN-SRCN	72, 73, 74, 75

Not all of the 13 mint names necessarily refer to different localities. Sears will discuss these problems in his forthcoming study. In his dissertation (p.247), he has noted one additional year (KRMAN 76), but without a reference or illustration.

(174) Cited by Walker 1941, p. lx, n.3. The passage is وضرب بها دراهم سماها العطوية, "he struck dirhams in it [Kirmān province] which he called *ᶜAṭawīya*".

(175) Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 233.

(176) The only other use of the term *allāh wallā* on an Arab-Sasanian coin is the SK type with the inscription الله ولى عون (*allāh wallā ᶜawn*), assigned by Sears to Class II. I would suggest that it was produced at some time between the mid-70s and the mid-80s. The name ᶜAwn is unknown. As for the name Salīm, it appears to be unknown and may refer to someone like the local mintmaster.

(177) For the issues of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, compare, for example, lot 5644 of ᶜUbayd Allāh in the Peus Auktion, 26 April 2000, as well as cat. 369 and 370.

(178) *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp. 90-92. This text was apparently unavailable to Bosworth, who makes no mention whatsoever of ᶜAbd Allāh b.

execute ᶜAbd Allāh. He refused to carry out this order, ultimately rebelling against al-Ḥajjāj, as noted in the section on his coinage. ᶜAbd Allāh seems to have joined the rebellion, but the histories remain silent about his subsequent role.

The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* indicates that upon Ibn al-Ashᶜath's arrival in Sīstān (given as 82 by the text, but clearly 80 according to the coins [see cat. 371]), he and ᶜAbd Allāh at first fell out, but restored their friendship shortly thereafter. So when was ᶜAbd Allāh's coin struck? Was it during his independence between Ibn al-Ashᶜath's arrival in Sīstān and march against the Zunbīl? Or after ᶜAbd Allāh's appointment as viceroy in Sīstān? And if the latter, before or after Ibn al-Ashᶜath's rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj? The use of the expression "God appointed" suggests that he had not been appointed by Ibn al-Ashᶜath or anyone else, but had claimed his position independently, presumably outside Zaranj, the capital then occupied by Ibn al-Ashᶜath. On the other hand, if the dies for this coin and the AH 80 coin of Ibn al-Ashᶜath were made by the same engraver, one might suppose that the coin should have been struck at Zaranj, thus after his friendship with Ibn al-Ashᶜath had been restored. The date on the coin is blundered but seems to derive from HŠTAT (80), with a deformation rather similar to that which is found on ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra coins that Sears regards as imitative coins in Class II, presumably struck in or shortly after AH 80. Although further analysis seems necessary, at present I am inclined to regard this coin as having been struck by ᶜAbd Allāh as viceroy in Sīstān, particularly because I suspect that his reconciliation with Ibn al-Ashᶜath occurred after the latter had begun his rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj. Thus "God appointed" reflects opposition again al-Ḥajjāj, not against Ibn al-Ashᶜath.

By at first having naïvely accepted this piece as an issue of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir b. Kurayz, I anticipated its usefulness as a means of explaining both the coinage of Ibn Kurayz and the continued production of his coinage during the governorship of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. Given that only one specimen is currently known, this type ought have been included in the section on "miscellaneous governors". However, I have discussed it in detail to illustrate how the careful analysis of an unusual type can avoid the pitfalls of misinterpretation.

Miscellaneous governors

There are coins of an additional sixteen governors, as well as one anonymous type, struck during the third sub-phase. As with the "rare" governors of phase 3b, these are treated here only briefly, as they are once again largely peripheral to the mainstream development of the drachm coinage. All are very rare or extremely rare (except for Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh, which seems to have become substantially less rare in recent years), and several individuals remain only tentatively identified.

Ḥumrān b. Abān, known only at Ardashīr Khurra for the year 72. His coins are of two types, one with and one without his name repeated in Arabic in ObQ3.

Muqātil b. Mismaᶜ, known from Bīshāpūr 72 and 73 only. Walker read the date 73 as 71, but it is identical to the date form on the year 73 coins of Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh struck at Bīshāpur, consisting of the Pahlavi numeral '3' followed by the word HFTAT for '70'.[179] Muqātil belonged to the tribe of Shaybān, a branch of Bakr b. Wā'il. The word بكرية, *bakriyya*, appears in ObQ3 on his coinage, the only known instance of a tribal name appearing on an Arab-Sasanian drachm.

Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh, known from Baṣra dated 73, 74 and 75, Bīshāpur 73 and 74, and Arrajān (WYHC) 73. The coins of Baṣra have a fourth outer circle on the reverse, the second earliest Arab-Sasanian coins to exhibit that feature, after the Damascus drachm of the previous year.[180] The coins of Bīshāpūr and Baṣra have the short *shahāda*, *bism allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh*, in ObQ2 and ObQ3, whereas those of Arrajān have just *bism allāh* in the obverse margin. The name Khālid is written either as HALYD or HALYT in Pahlavi; the latter is identical to the Pahlavi rendering of Ḥārith, a source of confusion that prevented several scholars from realising that the coins of Baṣra, DŠ and SYWKW dated 65 belong to al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd Allāh rather than Khālid (see the chapter on al-Ḥārith within the "miscellaneous governors" section of sub-phase 3b).[181] Of course, one might argue that the year 65 was a Yazdigerd date used for some undeterminable reason by Khālid. However, YE 65 began on 22 Ṣafar 77, whereas Khālid had been ousted from office by order of al-Ḥajjāj in 75. Moreover, although the four-circle obverse style of Khālid's Baṣran drachms corresponds solely to other issues of the 70s, the 65 issues of al-Baṣra are stylistically identical to the 60-64 Baṣran issues of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, both in terms of their margins and the absence of the outer fourth circle on the reverse. This evidence clinches the assignment of the year 65 coins to a Hijrī year and thus to the governor al-Ḥārith.

(ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh, ART and TART 74, see phase 3b)

Bishr b. Marwān, known from Kūfa (AKWLA) 73, 74 and 75 (*orans* types), Baṣra 75 (*orans* type) and Jayy 74. Most

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ᶜĀmir al-Mujāshiᶜī.

(179) Walker 209 (p.105); for the same reason, Walker assigned the 73 coin of Khālid to the year 71 (no. 213, p. 108). On both types, he read the digit of the date as the Pahlavi word SW, which he interpreted as "three". However, this form does not exist for "three", which is normally SY or SYC; since the second "letter" consists of a simple vertical line and is never connected to the the decimal HFTAT, it cannot be Y, but must be W, N, or less likely, R. Moreover, the first "letter" consists of two straight vertical lines, never curved as one would expect for S, especially on a coin so neatly engraved as the reverses of Muqātil and Khālid (for which numerous dies are known). Thus the date cannot be "one" but must be the Pahlavi numeral '3', perhaps utilised here in order to emphasise that it is not "one". One might expect the left stroke of the '3' to curve to the lower left, as in book Pahlavi. But on the coins of Kūfa dated 79 of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbd Allāh, the digit '9', which is made by repeating the digit '3' three times, shows the same style of the '3' as on the coins of Muqātil and Khālid.

(180) The fourth outer circle had been used on the Anahita type of Khusraw II more than 65 years before, and was also used extensively in various Ephthalite and related coinages, some of which were clearly produced considerably earlier than the Arab-Sasanian drachms of 72-75 (this type of Khālid, as well as some of the experimental types). However, most of the Ephthalite and related types bear the outer circle on both sides, rather than just on the reverse, similar to what was adopted by al-Ḥajjāj for his radial issues dated 76-77.

of the *orans* types have the fourth outer circle on the reverse (never on obverse), as on the coins of Baṣra 73-75 of Khālid. The coin of Jayy 74 cites an unidentified Zayd b. Abī Ziyād (ZYT Y ABWZYYAT) in ObQ3, perhaps some local governor.

There is also an apparently unique anonymous drachm of Kūfa 73, on which the name legend is replaced by the words *muḥammad rasūl allāh* in Arabic. Treadwell has suggested that this coin was struck immediately before the first Kūfan issue in the name of Bishr, though with some reservations.[182]

Numayra b. Muṣliḥ (?), known only from Arrajān (WYHC) dated 73, the date written in the same manner as the 73 coins of Bīshāpūr in the name of either Muqātil or Khālid, i.e., as a compound of a Pahlavi numeral for the unit and a Pahlavi word for the decimal. Walker misinterpreted the name NWMAYRA Y MSLHAN as al-Mughīra b. al-Muhallab, though he was perplexed by the two strokes before the first M; he also mistook the H of MSLHAN for a P. He was unable to decipher the mint, which he tentatively regarded as ŠACA, perhaps because of die damage on the only specimen available to him. Having access to a clearer specimen, Mochiri corrected both the name and mint reading, and queried the name of the father of this apparently unknown governor.[183]

Umayya b. ᶜAbd Allāh, known from SYZSTAN (?) 73, HWRASAN 74, ANBYR 64, MRWRWT 64 and BBA 77, of which only the coins of BBA 77 are known in any quantity.[184] The date 64 at Anbīr and Marw al-Rūdh must be the Yazdigerd year, which commenced on 12 Ṣafar 76. Umayya was the Marwānid governor of Khurāsān from either 72 or 74 until 78. The mint name HWRASAN is very clear and can only be interpreted as the provincial name Khurāsān, but SYZSTAN or SYZCSTAN, which Walker was inclined to read as Sīstān, remains unidentified. The full form of Sīstān should have been SKSTAN, as found on some coins of the Sasanian ruler, Shahpur II. However, the possibility that SYZSTAN could indeed refer to Sīstān cannot be rejected *a priori*. The coins of his son ᶜAbd Allāh, however, noted in the next paragraph, make it most unlikely that SYZSTAN should be interpreted as Sīstān (Sijistān).

(181) E.g., Gaube 54, DŠ 65.

(182) Sotheby's, 18 October 1983, lot 80, later in Warden-Album collection. Treadwell 1999, p. 233.

(183) Walker Cam.11, p. 106; the mint name is unclear in Walker's illustration. Mochiri 1983, pp. 435-437, no. 1557. Although Mochiri read the mint name, he misinterpreted it as WŠP.

In the most recent discussion of this governor (DeShazo 2000a), the author suggests that his actual name is unlikely to be Numayra—he offers no alternative—but attempts to decipher the patronymic as Y MALYKAN, i.e., Ibn Mālik, thus an allegedly unknown son of Mālik b. Mismaᶜ. However, the epigraphic portion that DeShazo attempts to distinguish as YK most closely resembles the standard form of H; in particular, the final portion does not look at all like the Pahlavi K. For this reason, I believe that Mochiri's reading is much more likely.

(184) Walker, pp. 106-107, no. 212, no. 211, nos. 209-210, no. B.36 and no. I.44, respectively. The coins of Khurāsān, Anbīr and SYZSTAN? entered the British Museum from the Eden collection in 1853, but no further specimens of these have ever been seen!

ᶜAbd Allāh b. Umayya, son of the previous governor, known only from some extremely rare drachms of Sīstān (SK) dated 75 and 77.[185] They bear the inscription العزة لله, *al-ᶜizza lillāh* (the glory is God's), in ObQ3 following the usual *bism allāh* in ObQ2, the earliest appearance of this phrase on Islamic coinage.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (b. Abī Ṣufra), known from rare drachms of six Kirmānī mints, always dated 78, as well as a remarkable drachm struck at Anbīr in AH 84 that portrays a standing sword-girt figure in lieu of the fire-altar and attendants.[186] The latter is properly Arab-Ephthalite, due to the presence of trilingual legends in Pahlavi, Arabic and Bactrian, and is described in the Arab-Ephthalite section. Drachms of year 78 all bear the legend قوة يزيد بالله, *quwwa yazīdu billāh*, "strength increases through God", in ObQ2. The coin of 84 is a unique example in Paris, published by Walker in 1952, though without the decipherment of the mint as Anbīr.

There are no known Arab-Sasanian coins of any mint in Kirmān province dated during the years 79-82, though two apparently unique post-reform dirhams have recently been discovered (Bardāsīr 79 and Jīruft 82). A few extremely rare drachms of the Kirmān provincial mint are known dated 83 and 84 (noted later in this section), and rather common dirhams bearing the common mintname كرمان (Kirmān) are known dated AH 90-103.

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbd Allāh (b. ᶜĀmir), known only from extremely rare drachms of Kūfa dated 79, with the date in Pahlavi numerals, first deciphered by Mochiri.[187] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān served briefly as sub-governor of Kūfa under al-Ḥajjāj.

al-Musayyib b. (Shihr?), known only from a unique drachm of Marw dated 79 in the Shamma collection (republished here as cat. 337) and not identified from the textual sources. The coin was published by Sears, who discussed the difficulties of reading the name.[188]

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, known from drachms of Sīstān dated 79 and 80, the former only moderately rare since the discovery of a small hoard in the late 1980s; a few additional known specimens bear completely blundered dates. Sears examined some 30 or more specimens of SK 79, mostly from that hoard, and found a coin/die ratio of something like 1.3:1.[189] This suggests that the

(185) Gaube 22 (75) and Kolesnikov 1998, p. 398, no. 153 (77); the use of the normal SK on these coins is further evidence that the mint form SYZSTAN on his father's coinage should not be read as a form of Sīstān.

(186) These are GRM-KRMAN (Mochiri 1985, p. 122, no. 31), KRMAN-GY (Warden-Album), KRMAN-HPYC (Mochiri 1985, p. 122, no. 32), KRMAN-NAR (cat. 328), KRMAN-NAWGY (Paris 1965-582) and KRMAN-SRCN (Mochiri 1983, no. 1555).

(187) Walker Th.18, p. 124; Mochiri 1986, pp. 85-86. Walker was unable to identify the governor or read the date, and as was customary at the time, read the mint as ATRA for Ādharbāyjān. The identity of the governor was established by Gaube, despite his inability to decipher either the mint or date (1973, p. 63).

(188) Sears 1996.

(189) Personal communication several years ago; unfortunately I no longer remember the exact figures he supplied.

issue was originally quite voluminous, perhaps because ʿUbayd Allāh required a large amount of cash to finance his ultimately disastrous campaign against the Zunbīl of Zābulistān. Sears has also suggested that some of the year 79 and perhaps all of the year 80 coins were later imitations belonging to his Class II of the late Sīstān series.[190] Given the complexity of the AH 79 and later Sīstān drachms, this suggestion seems plausible.

ʿAmr b. Laqīt (al-ʿAbdī), known from extremely rare coins of KRMAN-BN and GRM-KRMAN dated 83, both with the word PYRWC, "victorious", before the name (hence the name legend PYRWC AMWR / Y LKYTAN) and عـمـر الله , *ʿammara allāh*, "may God make prosperous" in ObQ3, together with the usual *bism allāh* in ObQ2. Because ʿAmr was Ibn al-Ashʿath's deputy in Kirmān, his dated coinage may provide significant evidence for reconstructing the chronology of Ibn al-Ashʿath's rebellion.[191]

Khālid b. Abī Khālid, known only from extremely rare coins of Jayy dated 83, with the date boldly written as TLTHYŠTAT. This is the only known drachm of Jayy struck after 76, though post-reform dirhams of 79-83 are rather less rare than most other Iranian post-reform dirhams of this period. The named individual has not been identified.[192]

ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (al-Qurashī), known only from a unique drachm of Baṣra dated 83 and an apparently unique drachm of Kirmān (KRMAN) dated 84, both with the unusual marginal legend امر الله بالوفا, *amara allāh bi'l-wafā* ("God commanded with justice").[193]

ʿUmāra b. Tamīm, known only from extremely rare coins of Sīstān dated 84 and 85, the latest Arab-Sasanian drachms of the main series. ʿUmāra was given the governorship of Sīstān in 84 by al-Ḥajjāj as a reward for his assistance in the defeat of Ibn al-Ashʿath earlier that year.[194]

Miscellaneous governors on copper coins

There are copper coins bearing the names of three additional individuals not found on the silver coinage except, in the case of Farrukhzad b. Gūsh-Anūshān, as ancillary names in the obverse margin. It is probable that all of these coins pertain to the third phase or slightly later:

Khālid b. ʿAbbād, known from two types of copper coin, one struck at Bīshāpūr, the other at a mint that may be interpreted as Tanbūk (see Appendix II for this mint-name). The date on the Bīshāpūr type seems to be CHRNHT for 94, the date on the Tanbūk coin is illegible on all known specimens.[195]

Farrukhzād b. Gūsh-Anūshān, known both from a series of copper coins from GWBR (Gūr), Tanbūk? and DŠT, and as an additional name in the obverse margin of some silver drachms of Ardashīr Khurra, Bīshāpūr and TART (the latter group dated 75-79). These have been discussed in detail by Curiel and Gyselen, Mochiri and Kolesnikov.[196] See also Appendix II.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. (Sabīh?), in Arabic on both the obverse and reverse of a copper coin with an unusual bust on the obverse, inscriptions only (in Arabic and Pahlavi) on the reverse. No mint or date has been found, though I would suspect the coin to be relatively late, perhaps after the copper reform of AH 100/101 (for this reform, see section on copper).[197]

Provincial summaries of the third phase

In order to assist the historian in effectively utilising the Arab-Sasanian coinage as an historical source, it seems appropriate to summarise the third phase coinage (AH 50-85) for ready reference. For each province, the known issues are listed chronologically, followed by a subjective estimate of rarity (C=common, S=scarce, R=rare, RR=very rare or extremely rare).[198] In the listings below, common

(190) Sears 1996a, pp. 22-23. Coins of the year 80 are published here for the first time (cat. 370), though several additional specimens are known.

(191) Both mints were published by Miles, 1959, pp. 95-97.

(192) Gaube 1973, p. 79, and no. 117.

(193) Gaube 81 (KRMAN); the Baṣra drachm is in the Malek collection. See also Gaube p. 74 for information on this individual. According to Ṭabarī, ʿUbayd Allāh briefly took over the governorship of Baṣra in 83 as a supporter of Ibn al-Ashʿath (English translation, v.XXIII, p. 46). The historians make no mention of his having been made governor in Kirmān.

(194) Malek collection (84) and Gaube 104 (85). Assuming that the date 84 is correct—it is perfectly clear on the coin, CHARHŠTAT—the coin is important for determining just when Ibn al-Ashʿath was defeated; I had previously presumed that ʿUmāra had not been appointed until 85.

(195) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 76-77, and 1987, pp. 17-18; Peus Auktion 363, 26 April 2000, lots 5528-5529. However, on lot 5529, the date appears to be CHRNKT, the penultimate letter quite clearly K, rather than the normal W; the PYE 94 coins of the Ispahbads of Ṭabaristān normally have NWT for '90', but on no. 32.2 in Malek's study, the so-called W is actually written more like K, thus the date is approximately CHARNKT (Malek 1993a, p. 141; PYE 94 is approximately equal to AH 128). As for the date on the Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh copper coin, if the date is indeed 94, it should be Hijrī rather than either YE or PYE.

(196) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 68-77, Mochiri 1986, pp. 70-76, and Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 275-279.

(197) Gyselen 2000, p. 180, no. 96. Although she was unaware of the provenance, the coin was actually in the Warden-Album collection, having been acquired by me from a Boston dealer around 1990 as part of a junk lot, and is now in Qatar.

(198) For the meaning of these descriptions of rarity, see my *Checklist* (Album 1998), p. 4. However, I should emphasise that great rarity does not necessarily imply that a coin is an exceptional type or was only produced in very small quantities. Rarity to the collector is typically based on the number of surviving examples rather than the quantity manufactured. If large numbers of a specific type were found in a hoard, even if struck from a single or a small number of dies, the coin will be regarded by collectors as very common, whereas a coin known in a small quantity but from a large number of dies will be seen as a major rarity. For example, there are 6 obverse and 7 reverse dies known for 8 specimens of the Baṣra 75 issue of Bishr b. Marwān (Treadwell 1999, p. 228); at auction, a specimen of this type would probably fetch at least $3000. On the other hand, the Kākwayhid gold dinar of Iṣfahān 435 sells for about $140 because it is abundantly common, due to the discovery of a hoard of several thousand specimens in the 1960s, but is known from just two obverse and two reverse dies (George Miles, "Another Kākwayhid Note",

and scarce groups are indicated by dates in bold type, followed by one (scarce) or two (common) asterisks. Listings in italics refer to coins reported by reliable sources, but which I have neither personally examined nor seen illustrated (all RR). The date ranges given do not necessarily imply that every year exists for each mint within that province. The rarity indication applies to the group as a whole; individual mints and dates may be much rarer. The purpose of stating the rarity is not to signal to the collector or dealer the value of his coin—that will only be possible after the publication of a true corpus or full catalogue of Arab-Sasanian coinage—but rather to indicate to the historian which coins were likely to have been produced in large numbers and which were not, though without die studies, these estimates must be regarded as tentative. Nonetheless, the information will undoubtedly prove useful to collectors as well.

I should warn the historian that the following list is only a rough estimation. Serious historical research will require a much more detailed catalogue of which dates, mints, rulers, inscriptions and varieties exist, their relative rarity and their relationships to one another. Until most of the major museum and private collections are properly published and at least some detailed analyses of the various mints and rulers undertaken, historians will find it difficult to utilise coinage in their research.

Uncertain mints and anomalous issues have not been included in the main list, but are briefly noted here:

(1) AW, most likely Ahwāz, known dated 51 in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.

(2) AYR, known dated 30, 52 and possibly 46, all in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.

(3) AYRAN, probably to be equated with Ḥulwān in the western Jibāl and known dated AH 56 and PYE 29-32, as well as the date 37 (probably PYE), all in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

(4) NHR, known only for issues of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān dated 52-53, possibly Nahr Tīrā in Khūzistān province.

(5) AFZWTK, known dated 56-57 in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

(6) AY, known dated 62 in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

(7) BH, known dated 60, 61 and 62 in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

(8) SYZSTAN or SYZCSTAN, known dated 73 in the name of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Unless otherwise noted, post-reform dirham coinages began in each of the enumerated provinces in the year 79 (78 at al-Kūfa and Shaqq al-Taymara).

A. Syria: Mints of Dimashq and Ḥimṣ.

72-75 — Khusraw types with Arabic dates (RR). The year 75 example lacks the mint-name but was almost certainly struck at Dimashq.

B. Central Iraq: Only the mint of al-Kūfa (AKWLA) operated during this phase, with the single exception of Ktesiphon (TSFWN) 63.[199]

62* — ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (S) (possibly also 63, as well as TSRWM 63).

73 — anonymous *muḥammad rasūl allāh* type (RR).

73-75 — Bishr b. Marwān, *orans* type (RR).

79 — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh (RR).

C. Jibāl: Mainly mint of Jayy (GD), but under Ziyād and his son ʿUbayd Allāh, a few issues of Hamadān (AHM) and NY (possibly Nihāwand) are documented.

50-54* — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (S).

54-63* — ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (S).

Henceforth only the mint of Jayy:

63 — ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (RR).

67 — Muṣʿab? b. (Abī Dulaf?) (RR).

67 — Aṣram b. (??) (RR); the sequence of the two year 67 issues is unknown.

68 — ʿAttāb b. Warqā' (RR).

74 — Bishr b. Marwān (R).

76 — al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, citing the governor of Iṣfahān, al-Barā' b. Qabīṣa, in either Arabic or Pahlavi, and with mint and date in Arabic (RR).

83 — Khālid b. Abī Khālid (RR).

D. Southern Iraq I: Mint of al-Baṣra.

53-55 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (RR).

56-64** — ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (C, the most common issue of the entire Arab-Sasanian series).

65 — al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh (RR).

(65 — ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh)

66 — Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr (RR).

73-75 — Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (RR).

75 — Bishr b. Marwān, *orans* type (RR).

83 — ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (RR)

E. Southern Iraq II: Other mints, including Maysān (MY), Dasht Maysān (DŠ, DŠT, and DŠTY), as well as the unlocated "SYWN" "SYWKW" or "SYWKAN".

51-54* — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (S).

54-64* — ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (S).

65 — al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh (RR).

67 — Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr (RR).

F. Khūzistān: No mints in this province have been confirmed (see the paragraph on uncertain mints at the beginning of this section regarding NHR), unless the AW 51 coin of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān can be assigned to Ahwāz in

ANS *Museum Notes*, v.18, 1972, p. 146). For this reason, die studies are extremely useful for historians, as they provide the most accurate measure of how many coins might have been manufactured.

(199) Kolesnikov 1998 reports a coin of Ziyād of WH dated 52 in the Warden collection in 1983, but no such coin was present when I purchased the collection in 1989. However, there was a coin of NY 52; when I revised the attributions in the collection, I noted that Warden had followed the then traditional pattern of regarding WH, WYH and NY as variations of the same mint signature.

this province. The mint NHR, known on drachms of Ziyād dated 52-53, might be Nahr Tīrā in this province.

G. Arrajān (Fārs province): Only the mint of WYHC, i.e., Arrajān itself, known as بزمقباذ (Bizamqubādh) on post-reform Umayyad dirhams. See Appendix I for a discussion of this mint signature.

(50 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (RR), possibly an irregular issue from a mint other than Arrajān.)

67-71 — ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh (RR).

73 — Numayra b. Muṣliḥ? (RR).

73 — Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh (RR).

H. Ardashīr Khurra (Fārs province): Includes the mints of Ardashīr Khurra itself (ART), its satellite TART (almost certainly Tawwaj, see appendix II), the latter mint 67 to 80 only, and KWAT (Kārzīn).

51-54 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (R). The only known coins of KWAT belong to this period.

58 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

65-67 — ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (R).

68-70* — ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh (S).

(coins formerly read as 71 now reinterpreted as 74)

72 — Ḥumrān b. Abān (RR).

73 — ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (RR).

74 — ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh [b. Khālid], formerly read as 71 (RR).

75 — Anonymous Khārijite type (RR).

75 — Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a (RR).

75-76* — al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (S).

77-81 — al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (R).

I. Bīshāpūr (Fārs province): Only the mint of Bīshāpūr (BYŠ).

50-54** — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (C).

53-55 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (RR).

(56-65 — No coinage, presumably because the mint had been moved to Baṣra during this interval.)

66-67 — ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbd Allāh (R).

67-70** — ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh (C).

72-73 — Muqātil b. Mismaᶜ (R).

73-74* — Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh (S).

75* — Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a (S).

75-76** — al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (C).

76-81** — al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (C).

81-83 — ᶜAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad (RR).

J. Iṣṭakhr (Fārs province): Mint of Iṣṭakhr (ST) only.

50-54 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (R).

54-64* — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (S); also year 52, presumably a muling.

61 — ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. (Madūr?) (RR).

66* — ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (S); also year 61, presumably a muling.[200]

68-72 — ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh (R).

76-78 — al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (R).

80-81 — al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (RR).

82 — ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (RR).

K. Dārābjird (Fārs province): Three mints, DA (Dārābjird), DA + P (Fasā) and DA + G (Jahrum) (see Appendix III). Date ranges are given first in Hijrī equivalents, then in Yazdigerd years as they appear on the coins. When only a small portion of a Yazdigerd year falls within a particular Hijrī year, that Hijrī year is noted in italics.

50-53* (frozen year 43) — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (S).

53-54 (frozen year 43) — Samura b. Jundab (R).

54-54/55* (frozen year 43) — Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the Umayyad caliph (S).

54/55-64** (frozen year 43 and YE 45-52) — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (C).

64 or 65 (YE 53) — Anonymous AMYR Y WYRWYŠNYKAN type (RR).

64-72* (YE 53-60) — ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (C); also YE 51, presumably a muling.

72* and 75 (YE 60, 63) — ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (S).

75-76 (dated Hijrī) — Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a (R).

76 (dated Hijrī) — al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (R).

77-78* (YE 65) — ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, the Umayyad caliph (S).

82-*83* (YE 70) — ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (RR).

83-*84* (YE 71) — al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (RR).

L. Yazd (Fārs province): Probable location of YZ signature. No additional mints are known from this region, unless ŠY lay within its boundaries.

50-53 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (R).

57-62 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (R), includes coins dated 49 and 50 in the Yazdigerd era.

67-69 — ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (R); many coins dated 69 seem to be imitations (e.g., cat. 488-492).

75 — Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a (RR).

75-76 — al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (R).

81 — al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (R).

(There is no confirmed post-reform Umayyad or ᶜAbbāsid coinage from this district.)

M. Kirmān: From 52 to 58 the mints are given simple signatures, ANWAT, BN, GRM, GY, HPYC, NAR, NAWGY, PYR and SRCN. Thereafter, beginning with the issues of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the same mints (plus a few additional spellings) occur as suffixes to KRMAN (GRM as prefix), except for PYR, which seems to have closed or may be the

(200) The year 66 is crudely engraved, and while I personally regard it as almost certainly 66, it has often been interpreted as 63, a year that I do not believe can exist with Ibn al-Zubayr titled as caliph.

same mint as that which uses the plain KRMAN signature in 58 and later.[201]

52-54 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (R).

52-54 — ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd (RR). The overlap with issues of Ziyād may reflect internal divisions within the province.

56-58 — al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ᶜĀṣ (R).

58-64 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (R).

64 — Anonymous AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN type (RR).

62-64 — ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (R). The overlap with issues of ᶜUbayd Allāh may reflect internal divisions within the province.

65 — ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh (RR).

65-70 — ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, again (R).

69-71 — Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr (RR).

71-77 — ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad (R).

77 — Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a (RR).

76-78 — al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, KRMAN-NAR only (RR); the overlap with issues of ᶜAṭīya is most likely the result of the continued use of old reverse dies from the 76 issues of ᶜAṭīya.

78 — Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (RR).

83 — ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (RR).

83 — ᶜAmr b. Laqīt (RR). The sequence of the two issues dated 83 is not known.

84 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān (RR).

(post-reform dirhams commence in the years 79 and 82 with isolated issues of Bardāsīr and Jīruft, respectively, otherwise at Kirmān beginning in 90).

N. Sīstān: The normal mint is Sīstān (SK), but a single issue of Salm b. Ziyād dated 56 is from its secondary city, Bust (BST). The mint read by Walker as Zaranj is actually YZ, believed to be Yazd in Fārs.

"48"** (frozen date) — anonymous *bism allāh rabbī* type of Ziyād (C).

"56"* (frozen date) — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (S).

"56"* (frozen date) — Salm b. Ziyād (S). This is the only issue known for BST.

64-66 (66 may be a frozen date) — Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbd Allāh (R).

66 (frozen date?) — Mālik b. (ᶜAws?) (RR).

66 (frozen date?) — ᶜAbd Allāh b. (ᶜArīq?) (RR).

66 (frozen date?), 69 and 72 — ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir (RR); the sequence of issues bearing the apparently frozen date 66 has not been determined.

75 and 77 — ᶜAbd Allāh b. Umayya (RR).

79-80 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra (R).

80-83 — ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (RR).

84-85 — ᶜUmāra b. Tamīm (RR).

(Post-reform dirhams commence in the year 90.)

O. Khurāsān: Numerous mints, including Abarshahr (APR or APRŠ[T], = Nīshāpūr), Marw (MRW), Marw al-Rūdh (MRWRWT), Harāt (HRA), Anbīr (ANBYR), the unidentified AYPTAK, and some issues of the camp mint BBA. A single issue bears the provincial name, HWRASAN (Umayya b. ᶜAbd Allāh).

53-54 — Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (RR), Abarshahr only.

56 and 60 — ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, Harāt 56 and Abarshahr 60 only (RR).[202]

62-71** — Salm b. Ziyād (C).

63-73** — ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (C). The extensive overlap of issues of Salm and his rival ᶜAbd Allāh requires further research.

67 — Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh, Harāt only (RR).

67 — Qaṭān b. (ᶜUdayy?), Harāt only (RR). The sequence of issues of Muḥammad and Qaṭān is unknown.

73-77 — Umayya b. ᶜAbd Allāh (RR); various mints, including some that are dated 64 in the Yazdigerd era.

79 — al-Musayyib b. (Shihr?), with the date written as a Pahlavi numeral (RR).

Post-reform dirhams were introduced in the year 79 in all of the above provinces except Yazd and Sīstān. The mint names were not necessarily identical to those that had operated as Arab-Sasanian mints, nor were the numbers of mints within a province the same as before. Dirhams are not known to have been struck at Yazd until the Kākwayhid period (5th/11th century).[203] The earliest post-reform issues of Kirmān were struck at Bardāsīr in 79 (only recently discovered) and Jīruft in 82, of Sīstān at "Sijistān" in 90. Arab-Sasanian drachms and post-reform dirhams were struck simultaneously for five years at Bīshāpūr (79-83, known as Sābūr in Arabic), and more briefly at Jayy (83) and Iṣṭakhr (80-82), presumably because the two types of coins were intended to serve distinct monetary functions. In Sīstān, Arab-Sasanian drachms were struck for nearly a century after the end of the main series in 85, alongside dirhams from 90 onwards. There are, however, two long gaps in the reformed dirham series

(201) Sears states that "PYR is likely tied to KRMAN and, thus, to Shīrajān" (Sears 1997, pp. 132-133). He bases this largely on the facts that PYR is not especially rare under al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ᶜĀṣ and that it does not exist as a suffix to KRMAN. The association of PYR and KRMAN seems a reasonable conclusion, but the connection to Shīrājān is tentative: Bardāsīr is another possibility.

(202) Coins of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir and ᶜUbayd Allāh struck at the camp mint BBA in 44 and 62 respectively, of which those dated 62 were probably struck in southern Iraq, as their ornamentation and style is similar to contemporary issues of Baṣra and Dasht Maysān. All other Arab-Sasanian BBA drachms are of Khurāsānian origin.

(203) Unless the strange mint ارد, "Ard", or perhaps ازد, "Azd", represents Yazd rather than a truncated spelling of Ardashir Khurra (اردشیر خرة). It is known dated 79 and 82 only (Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 294 for 79; the year 82 appeared at a major auction in the late 1990s but I have been unable to locate the reference); the fact that two separate years are now known strongly suggests that the name is not just a mistake as I had formerly assumed. However, even if that is so, it is unclear whether "Ard/Azd" might refer to Yazd or some other as yet unidentified locality.

of the province, from 103 to 128 and from 132 to 165 (reform-style coppers are known from both these intervals).

Metrology

The subject of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian metrology has until now been only partially researched, largely because of the paucity of adequately published material on which a thorough study can be based. The project currently underway to publish jointly the Sasanian holdings of the Berlin Museum, the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna will hopefully provide a good basis for a systematic investigation of Sasanian metrology. In his dissertation Sears has investigated the weight and diameter of several thousand Arab-Sasanian drachms, the most important examination of this matter thus far attempted.

The weight and fineness of the Sasanian drachm derived ultimately from the ancient Greek Attic standard, introduced into Iran by Alexander the Great late in the third quarter of the fourth century BC. Although its standard weight was altered slightly upward or downward from time to time, its persistence over more than a millennium, until the reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik, is a remarkable example of monetary conservatism. However, as Kolesnikov has shown, though basing his estimates on a rather restricted sample, the weight of the drachm varied over the four centuries of Sasanian rule, from as low as about 3.6g to as high as 4.3g.[204] By the middle of the reign of Khusraw II (591-628), the drachm standard had settled only slightly below its original Attic level, at approximately 4.17-4.18g, and retained a very high fineness, presumably over 95%, perhaps the finest purity that late Sasanian technology could technically produce.[205] In her study of the Susa hoard, which was deposited in the last year of Khusraw's reign, Gyselen established a standard that must have been in the range of 4.17-4.20g.[206] Not surprisingly, this standard was maintained during the civil wars that broke out after Khusraw's death,[207] until what can be regarded as the effective cessation of widespread Sasanian coinage in the third year of Yazdigerd III, equivalent to 634/635.[208] After his third year, regular silver coinage was retained solely in Sīstān (sk on the coins), extended to three additional mints within Kirmān after his 7th year and perhaps to Iṣṭakhr in Fārs in his 10th year; with the exception of Sīstān there are no coins whatsoever known from the 4th and 5th years. Given their variable style and epigraphy, virtually all other coins of Yazdigerd III from the 6th year onwards appear to be irregular. As for metrology, Sears has argued that the Sīstān standard under Yazdigerd III was slightly lower than the late Khusraw standard—he suggests about 4.10g[209]—and that it was this local Sīstān standard that was ultimately adopted for the entire Arab-Sasanian coinage, which, as we have noted, first appeared in YE 20, primarily in Sīstān and the mints of Kirmān.

What then was the standard of the Arab-Sasanian drachm? In his extensive metrological analysis, Sears has shown that despite minor variations from mint to mint and from decade to decade, variations that are mostly so small as to lie well within the statistical margin of error, the standard of the Arab-Sasanian drachm must have lain in the range of 4.10-4.13g, apparently slightly lower than the post AD 601 standard of Khusraw II, which, as noted above, has been estimated at approximately 4.17-4.18g.[210]

However, a number of peripheral regions did maintain distinct standards of their own, most notably Ṭabaristān, where the standard denomination was a half drachm (2.05-2.08g) based on the same weight standard. Secondly, what appear to be two distinct sub-series of the *muḥammad* drachms of Ādharbāyjān (cat. 494-495) adhered to much lower standards, one of perhaps about 3.2g, another of perhaps 2.8g, but due to the paucity of extant specimens,

(204) Kolesnikov 1998, including dozens of citations throughout his chapter on the drachm, pp. 122-233. It is curious that his frequency charts for the large Tsiteli Tskaro hoard from Georgia yield a theoretical standard of about 4.08-4.10g for Khusraw II (425 coins), almost exactly 0.10g lighter than Gyselen's result from the Susa hoard (see note (206)). He also uses the mean weight of undamaged drachms to determine standards, rather than either the right edge of a frequency table or the percentile system; the mean weight almost always yields a result that is lower, often substantially lower, than the actual standard, due to the inclusion of worn, damaged or clipped specimens. Moreover, results from a single hoard can be affected by the extent and nature of the process used to clean or polish the coins. Uncleaned coins, especially those with surface deposits, can be substantially heavier than cleaned coins; conversely, harshly cleaned coins may have lost a significant proportion of their weight, as much as 10% or more, especially on broad thin coins such as Sasanian drachms. Frequency tables or percentile reckonings normally yield more accurate results, though both methods need to be utilised with care.

(205) Sears has estimated the weight of the late Sasanian drachm at about 4.20g (1997, pp. 287-291), which I regard as a trifle high, preferring, as noted in the text, an estimate of about 4.17-4.18g. The difference between these two admittedly close estimations is almost exactly equivalent to the difference between Sears' 97% and 90% percentiles. Since Sears has subsequently agreed that 90% is undoubtedly more accurate than 97%—the latter overvalues the standard by taking into account an excessive number of overweight coins—he would now also agree with 4.17-4.18g.

(206) Gyselen 1989b, p. 7, fig.1. However, fig.2 on p. 8 is erroneous: the mean weight for the 51 (not 50) coins of year 29 is 4.02g, not 4.17g, thus entirely consistent with years immediately before and after. Thus revised, her chart can be readily reinterpreted to demonstrate that between the years 23 and 37 there was *no* alteration of the standard. The minor fluctuations from year to year are statistically irrelevant, given the relatively modest numbers of specimens available for each year, far fewer than the many hundreds that would be required for each year in order to assure a relatively accurate estimation.

(207) Whereas interludes of political fragmentation and civil war in medieval and modern Europe were frequently accompanied by monetary collapse, the same was not always the case in either the ancient world or the Muslim world. Three good examples of political collapse where monetary standards were maintained are the coinages of the later Īlkhāns after the death of Abū Saʿīd in AH 736, of the Golden Horde after the death of Jānī Beg in AH 758 and throughout Iran during the twelve years of catastrophic civil war following the death of Nādir Shāh in AH 1160.

(208) Tyler-Smith 2000, pp. 153-154; Gurnet 1988, pp. 76-77. Gurnet failed to notice the significance of the end of regular coinage in YE 3, probably because, unlike Tyler-Smith, he did not detach the Sīstān coinage from that of other mints.

(209) Sears 1997, p. 290.

(210) Sears 1997, pp. 294 ff. In his study, Sears weighed several thousand Arab-Sasanian coins, most of them with a very accurate

precise values cannot yet be calculated.[211] There are also a number of lower standards that were used for imitative coinages, of which only two are represented in the present collection, the five die-identical imitations of YZ 69 in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (cat. 488-492), which reveal a standard of approximately 3.85g, probably related to one of the contemporary Ephthalite standards in eastern Khurāsān, and the Arab-Ephthalite standard of the "Gorigo Shah" series (cat. 7-9), perhaps about 3.75g, if not identical to the standard of the YZ 69 imitations. As noted in the description of the coins of Salm b. Ziyād and ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, there was an imitative series from eastern Khurāsān that seems to have utilised a standard between about 3.2 and 3.3g.

It thus appears that the main series of Arab-Sasanian silver coinage (AH 31-85) followed a standard of about 4.10-4.13g and was manufactured from what would have regarded as pure or nearly pure silver, thus about 1% to 2% lighter than the 4.17-4.18g post-601 silver coinage of Khusraw II. The silver fineness may have been slightly lower in Sīstān during this period, though nowhere near so drastically reduced as would later occur in the local Class III and Class IV coinage produced roughly AH 80s-170s/AD 700s-790s. However, during the main period and later, lighter local standards may well have been used for the silver coinage of a few peripheral regions.

Surprisingly, Arab-Sasanian drachms seem to have remained in circulation well after the end of production in AH 85. For example, 77 Arab-Sasanian drachms were found in the Qamishlīya hoard from Syria (which contained 1519 coins up to the year AH 200) thus representing about 5% of the total.[212] I have also seen in the market several hoard groups of Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid dirhams that also contained significant numbers of Arab-Sasanian drachms. Interestingly, most of the Arab-Sasanian drachms in these groups were substantially clipped. The same phenomenon characterised the majority of the drachms from the Shamma collection, which are typically clipped down from the theoretical standard of 4.10-4.13g to the range of about 2.4-3.5g, with a noticeable peak at approximately 2.80-2.90g, remarkably similar to the typical peak of post-reform Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid dirhams. However, unlike the post-reform dirhams, which exhibit a sharp peak in the 2.80-2.90g range, with little below 2.60g and virtually nothing above 3.10g, the clipped Arab-Sasanian drachms reveal a gentle curve, with, in addition to the majority in the 2.60-3.10g range, substantial numbers in the 2.30-2.60g and 3.10-3.50g ranges. Nonetheless, it seems likely that the clipping was intended to allow the coins to be used alongside post-reform dirhams.

Gold coinage

The existence of gold Arab-Sasanian coinage remains shrouded in uncertainty. Al-Balādhurī refers to silver *and* gold having been struck by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr; Ibn Khaldūn cites the same report but adds that Muṣʿab was the first to strike gold, in the 70s Hijrī.[213] No gold coins of Muṣʿab are known to exist, though the possibility of future discoveries cannot be arbitrarily dismissed. However, alleged dinars of two other Zubayrids have been reported, two specimens of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh struck at Bīshāpūr in AH 70 and one of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim struck at Marw in the same year. Of these, Walker regarded the first two, which were acquired by the British Museum in 1847 and 1848, as mere casts taken from a silver drachm; having recently examined these two pieces, I fully concur with his judgment, and thus regard them as nineteenth century jewellery fakes.[214]

The remaining specimen, the year 70 dinar of Ibn Khāzim, cannot so easily be dismissed. It derives from the nineteenth century collection of Gen. Komarov and was first published by Tiesenhausen in 1892. Walker regarded it as a plated and clipped silver drachm, but a metallurgical analysis recently undertaken at the Hermitage has revealed a gold content of 95.8%. However, there are numerous differences between the Ibn Khāzim gold piece and silver drachms of the same year. On Komarov's gold coin, the name APDWLA is defectively written; the breast ornament is a medallion (B6) instead of three pellets (B0); the date HFTAT is somewhat clumsily engraved; the pellets flanking the top star-and-crescent on the reverse are lacking, etc. These variations are altogether unknown on the contemporary silver drachms, whose stylistic appearence is clearly far superior. Whereas Walker interpreted these differences as evidence *against* authenticity, Kolesnikov regarded them as either *positive* evidence, in the case of the breast ornaments and the reverse pellets, or neutral, as in the case of the careless spelling of APDWLA (he does not note the blundered date). He thus regarded the Ibn Khāzim item as a genuine Arab-Sasanian gold coin.

While I strongly doubt that the Ibn Khāzim dinar is a modern forgery or concoction, I am not persuaded that it is a genuine coin. The poor execution of the piece seems inconsistent with the concept of a celebratory issue. The gold coinage of Khusraw I, Varahran VI and especially Khusraw II and Queen Boran is not only of exquisite design and execution but typologically utterly different from contemporary silver coinage.[215] I would expect the same to be true of any genuine Arab-Sasanian gold coinage, were such things to exist. Thus I am inclined to regard the Ibn Khāzim piece not as a coin, but as a piece of jewellery manufactured in imitation of an Arab-Sasanian drachm, anywhere from a few years to a century or more after the

mechanical balance, rather than a less accurate portable electronic, scale.

(211) Sears 1995.

(212) Gyselen and Kalus 1983, pp. 105-107 for the Arab-Sasanian pieces.

(213) Kolesnikov 1985, p. 51.

(214) Walker 1941, p. 193. The two coins are crudely cast from the same drachm. Both show clear signs of having been set in jewellery, probably embedded in the same setting, to judge by the similar mount traces on the two pieces. An early nineteenth century origin is probable, though the possibility of a somewhat earlier date cannot be excluded. Whatever their provenance, these crudely cast items are clearly *not* representative of an Arab-Sasanian gold coinage.

(215) For a brief discussion of the controversy over the authenticity of the gold dinar of Queen Borān see Malek 1993b, p. 238; further references are given. Personally, I see no good reason for doubting its authenticity, although I have never examined it personally, having observed it solely from photographs.

prototype, most likely somewhere in Khurāsān or Central Asia.

In addition to the Ibn Khāzim piece, Kolesnikov also regarded the "dinars" of ᶜUmar as genuine. He brings together the textual reports about Muṣᶜab, the two coins of ᶜUmar and the dinar of Ibn Khāzim to conclude that there was a gold mintage in about the year 70 by opponents of the Umayyads in Iraq and Iran. Moreover, since he accepts the dates 68 and 69 found on the Arab-Ephthalite silver series as authentic (as I do), he considers the dinar of Marw 70 as a celebratory issue after Ibn Khāzim's reconquest of Khurasan from the Ephthalites.[216] This is admittedly an ingenious interpretation, but unfortunately unacceptable at the present, given that the Bīshāpūr 70 gold pieces are reasonably modern forgeries, the alleged Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr dinar is unknown to exist, and the alleged dinar of Marw 70 is too corrupt to be regarded as a legitimate gold coin.

In the early 1980s there appeared a group of modern forgeries purporting to be gold dinars of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, struck at Bīshāpūr and probably dated 77; however, the Arabic epigraphy clearly betrays their twentieth century origin.[217]

We are thus led to conclude that there appears not to have been any gold coinage in the Arab-Sasanian series. In fact, gold coinage had seldom been of much importance in the Sasanian empire; after Peroz (AD 457-484) it was presumably struck only for ceremonial purposes, the last known issue having been struck by Queen Boran (AD 630-631). In the Islamic period, gold coinage resumed in Iraq following the establishment of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate in 132/750 and in Iran during the reign of al-Muᶜtaṣim (218-227/833-842). Kolesnikov's admirable attempt to weave the Ibn Khāzim "coin", the British Museum forgeries and the report of al-Balādhurī—all of these referring to the year 70—into the basis for a Zubayrid Arab-Sasanian gold coinage should now be rejected as unsubstantiated.[218]

Arab-Ephthalite

A number of drachms are known that bear Bactrian, as well as Pahlavi and Arabic inscriptions.[219] The typology and stylistic rendering are purely Arab-Sasanian, very close to the regular issues of Salm b. Ziyād and ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim. The principal differences are the addition of Bactrian inscriptions in the obverse or reverse margins, the replacement of the Pahlavi name legend with a Bactrian inscription (on most issues), and the occasional reversal of the mint and date legends on the reverse. All the coins bear the fourth outer circle around the reverse, except for the peculiar issue of PHRZZ. Most of the coins were minted at Anbīr, but there are additional mints. One type has an enigmatic mint-name tentatively read as APNWRAN or SPNWRAN and another bears the undeciphered but clearly engraved mint-name PHRZZ.[220] There are two additional coins, discussed below, that bear the mint name Marw in the usual location together with the name Anbīr in Bactrian (ομβιρο) within the reverse margin.

The presence of the fourth marginal circle on the reverse of these coins raises an interesting question, one that was already noted by Nikitin in 1984. By virtue of accepting the Hijrī dates on this coinage as authentic (with which I concur), Göbl had observed that the use of the fourth circle on the Arab-Ephthalite coinage *precedes* its use on the main Arab-Sasanian series, for which the earliest attested date is 72 (the earliest known to Göbl was 73, but cf. no. 272 in the present catalogue for the year 72). Nikitin convincingly showed that the type most probably derived from the so-called Anahita type of Khusraw II, first transmitted to various Ephthalite and related issues, then to such derived series as the Arachosian (which he dates to 680-684, approximately AH 60-64) and Arab-Ephthalite, finally to a few rare main series and experimental Arab-Sasanian.[221]

Although the first Arab-Ephthalite specimen was published by Wilson in 1841,[222] it was not until precisely a century later that an attempt was made to identify what had hitherto remained enigmatic coins. In 1941, Walker published 13 specimens, and conjectured that they were issued by Rabīᶜ b. Ziyād and ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, but was unable to make any headway with the Bactrian inscriptions, as the language had not yet been deciphered. Substantial progress was made in 1967 by Göbl, who, though having no further specimens at his disposal, was able to propose tentative readings of the Bactrian legends, thereby demonstrating that Walker's gubernatorial attributions were misconceived. A number of additional specimens have appeared at auction in recent years, but no further study of the coins has been undertaken.[223]

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(216) Walker 1941, p. 191; Kolesnikov 1985, pp. 50-52.

(217) These pieces first appeared in Pakistan around 1985, and several specimens entered the international market. Although I vaguely recollect that the type is dated 77, I have failed to locate a photograph of the forgery. The obverse design is based on the full *shahāda* type struck at Bīshāpūr from 77 to 79. I have also been unable to determine what mint name was placed on this forgery.

(218) However, it should not be assumed *de rigueur* that the statements of al-Balādhurī and Ibn Khaldūn are absolutely unacceptable. After a recent fascinating conversation with Treadwell, I can readily accept the possibility that al-Balādhurī and Ibn Khaldūn may conceivably have reported a monetary event that had indeed taken place, even if their descriptions were somewhat confused or chronologically inaccurate. Given the exceeding rarity of pre-reform gold solidi of Damascus (the assumed mint of the types), the nominal production of a few Zubayrid gold coins cannot be instantly rejected, especially if such coins were intended as presentation rather than circulation objects.

(219) The use of "Arab" in the term "Arab-Ephthalite" refers strictly to the use of the Arabic formula *bism allāh* in ObQ2. There is no evidence that Arabs in any way participated in the government of the Jūzjān kingdom, which was undoubtedly responsible for all of these types (Göbl's Emissions 271-281).

(220) Walker ANS.17 (p.127) and 150 (p.83), respectively.

(221) Göbl 1967, v.1, p. 191; Nikitin 1984, p. 237. I have continued to refer to the original source as the Anahita type of Khusraw II, though Alexandr Nymark has recently explained to me that the facing bust bearing the nimbus is not Anahita but a different Zoroastrian symbol.

(222) Wilson 1841, p. 402, no. 34, illustrated on Plate xvii, no. 4, but plate reference omitted in text.

(223) Walker 1941, pp. lxv-lxix, 127-129; Göbl 1967, pp. 186-193, 257 (Emissions 271A-281).

Nonetheless, Göbl's scheme can be further refined, if only because Göbl did not take into account the Arab-Sasanian context within which these pieces must be viewed. In my opinion, the precursor to the series is the ordinary-style drachm of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim struck at Anbīr in 63, on which, as if for emphasis or clarity, the date is written TLTŠST and can be regarded as authentic on account of its style and appearance.[224] Although the Arabs first seized control of the province of Jūzjān, presumably including its capital, Anbīr, in about 33/653-654, their hold on the province was at best precarious. It is conceivable that Ibn Khāzim recovered the region, perhaps still acting on behalf of Salm b. Ziyād, the principal governor of Khurāsān in AH 63, and either established a new mint at Anbīr or took over a mint formerly operating under Ephthalite control. No coins are known from Anbīr dated 64 or 65, but Arab-Ephthalite issues are known dated 66, 68 and 69.[225] The dates on these issues are carefully engraved, albeit with a slightly aberrant but nonetheless consistent style, and are most assuredly authentic dates. All of these coins bear the Bactrian name ομβιρο for Anbīr, and most bear the mint name in Pahlavi as well (ANBYR). On two exceptional coins, one in the name of Salm dated 68, the other in the name of ζολοοο γωζογονο ("zolooo gōzogono") dated 69, the mint name is indeed Anbīr in Bactrian in the reverse margin, as well as Pahlavi MRW for Marw in the usual mint position on the reverse, presumably indicating, as suggested earlier, that the coins are Marw-style coins produced under the authority of the rulers of Anbīr.[226] However, at which mint were they struck, Anbīr, Marw or somwhere else? Regular style Arab-Sasanian drachms were struck at Marw in large numbers from 62 to 67 and again from 69 to 73 (dates 71-73 are rare), but regular drachms of Marw dated 68 remain unknown. I would postulate that these two Arab-Ephthalite coins dated 68 and 69 were indeed struck at Marw but under the authority of the rulers of Anbīr, who must have briefly seized control of the city at that time. This makes sense, given that ordinary Arab-Sasanian drachms were not struck at Marw in 68, neither in the name of Salm b. Ziyād nor ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim nor anyone else (only an extremely rare peculiar coin is known dated 68, described in the section on Salm b. Ziyād).

Except for an enigmatic coin naming Salm b. Ziyād noted in the previous paragraph, all coins bear the obverse name legend ζολοοο γωζογονο in the usual location in front of the bust, together with the reverse name legend γοριγο ροουο in the margin (except the coin of Marw 69, which lacks this name altogether). The first name is perhaps a personal name or title followed by the name Gūzgān (Jūzjān in Arabic); the latter, Gorigo Shah, is perhaps a generic title of the ruler of Anbīr.

Two additional coins that are presumably Arab-Ephthalite issues appear to lack reference to Anbīr altogether. One was struck at a hypothetical mint APNWRAN and dated 39; Göbl plausibly interprets this as a PYE year (began 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 70) and suggests the possibility that the reverse marginal inscription appears to include the word ομβιρο, i.e., the name Anbīr. The other, ignored by Göbl, bears the name legend of Salm b. Ziyād and the mint signature PHRZZ and a somewhat enigmatic date that Walker read as SŠTY and interpreted as a poorly engraved SŠST for 63, but which I would rather read as HŠTY and interpret either as a misunderstood '8' for AH 68 or PYE 38 (in the latter case, more or less equivalent to AH 70).[227] Their Bactrian legends are different from the Anbīr coins, but an analysis of their interpretation lies beyond the scope of this essay.

There is one further issue, a remarkable and lovely drachm of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab struck in Anbīr in 84, already alluded to more than once, first published by Walker in 1952. The coin bears the governor's name legend in Arabic; the obverse headgear is entirely novel, a pointed cap with a double fillet extended to the rear and an ornamented crescent on top. The reverse has, instead of the altar and two attendants, a single standing figure, holding a sword and a spear, and wearing headgear that is somewhat similar to that worn by the obverse figure. Alongside this figure appear the Pahlavi mint and date inscriptions, ANBYR to the left (misread as HURA by Walker) and the clearly inscribed year CHRHŠTAT to the right. In RvQ4 and RvQ3 appears the Arabic legend ضرب (جزية؟) بالجوزجان (Walker queried the second word, and I can offer no better explanation), and in RvQ2 and RvQ1 the Bactrian ζολοοο γωζογονο.[228] As governor of Khurāsān, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had greatly strengthened Muslim rule; could it be that the Ephthalite king of Jūzjān had briefly entered into some sort of accord with Yazīd?

In conclusion, the Arab-Ephthalite coinage was a short-lived series, struck mainly in Anbīr between the years AH 66 and either 69 or 71, plus a single issue struck at Anbīr in 84. It would not be surprising if additional types were eventually to be discovered, given the extreme rarity of the numerous types published to date. Nearly all the coins are tied to the mint of Anbīr and to the rulers of Jūzjān, even most of those which bear the additional mint-name Marw. Moreover, the coins are by no means barbarous, but exhibit a quality of engraving that matches the Arab-Sasanian coinage of Khurāsān during the same period. The Bactrian legends have not been definitively read, and it is hoped that the recently discovered Bactrian texts from northern Afghanistan, now being studied by Sims-Williams, will provide clues to a better decipherment.[229]

(224) Walker 166 (p.90).

(225) Walker 138 (p.81) and 246-254 (pp. 127-129). Walker read the date on no. 246 as 63, but Göbl suggested that it should be interpreted as 66. The first part of the date does indeed look somewhat like SY for "3", but when compared with the š of HŠTŠST on coins dated 68, it is clear that š was intended. Although Göbl does not seem to have noticed this subtlety, it nonetheless reinforces his reading of the date as 66.

(226) Walker 138 (p.81) and 254 (p.129), respectively. These coins are also discussed in this introduction in the section on Salm b. Ziyād.

(227) Walker ANS.17 (p.127) (=Göbl Emission 272) and Walker 150 (p.83), respectively.

(228) Walker 1952, pp. 108-109; the coin is now in Paris (1967.207).

(229) Sims-Williams 1999, pp .245-258, where the dating of these documents is discussed. Many of these texts were published by Sims-Williams in 2000 (*Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan. Pt. 1: Legal and economic documents*, Oxford).

Ṭabaristān

The Alburz mountains and the Caspian littoral of Iran comprised several provinces of the Sasanian empire, including, from west to east, Gīlān, Daylam, Rūyān, Ṭabaristān, Damāwand and Gurgān (Jurjān). Their topography presented a formidable barrier to any potential invader, both the lofty mountains to the south and the semi-tropical marshlands of the coast. Muslim attempts to penetrate the area began as early as about 22/641, just after the collapse of the Sasanian army at Nihāwand, but no attempt to advance into the region proved successful until the city of Gurgān/Jurjān was definitively conquered by Yazīd b al-Muhallab in 98/716-717, some fifteen years after the termination of Arab-Sasanian coinage. Rūyan fell to the Muslims in 142/759, Damāwand probably about the same time, Ṭabaristān after a long struggle two years later, in 144/761 (there is, however, a rather rare Umayyad dirham of Ṭabaristān dated 102 that may not actually have been struck within that province).[230] The regions of Daylam and Gīlān resisted the Muslim advance for much longer.

Ṭabaristān had been an important Sasanian province, at times the residence of a royal prince. Its chief city was Āmul, to which coins bearing the mint signature AM have been assigned since Mordtmann's original work in 1854; the mint is attested from the time of Peroz until Queen Būrān.[231] This attribution is widely accepted, though no independent evidence has yet been uncovered.[232] No other Sasanian mint place located within the above-mentioned provinces can be confirmed, though it is conceivable that on occasion GW might have referred to Gurgān rather than Qumm.

About a decade after the end of the main series of Arab-Sasanian coinage, the local rulers of Ṭabaristān, the Dābūyid (or Dābwayhid) *ispahbads* suddenly began striking coinage, beginning in the year PYE 60 (began 28 May 711 = 5 Shaᶜbān 92). Coins are known in the names of Farrukhān (PYE 60-79), Dātbūrjmihr (PYE 79, 86-88), and Khurshīd (PYE 89-109), as well as posthumous issues under ᶜAbbāsid authority but still in the name of Khurshīd (PYE 110-115). These coins have recently been the subject of an exhaustive study by Malek (1993a).

The Ṭabaristān silver coin is exactly half the weight of the main series Arab-Sasanian drachm, thus to a standard of about 2.05-2.08g, as noted above. Like the Arab-Sasanian drachms and the post-reform Umayyad and ᶜAbbāsid dirhams, they are struck from extremely pure silver. Numismatists have traditionally called these coins hemidrachms ("half drachms"), perhaps because in the first century of Sasanian rule, hemidrachms and obols (1/6 drachm) were commonly struck in moderately large quantities.[233] A better term would be a "Ṭabarī dirham". Indeed, Bates has shown that there are contemporary references to "dirhams of five", meaning dirhams weighing five-tenths of a mithqāl, thus precisely half the weight of the normal drachm.[234]

The overall design of the Ṭabarī dirham is identical to the third series of Khusraw II, though of reduced module and with a number or minor variations. With two exceptions, they bear the usual Sasanian style bust on the obverse, the fire-altar and two attendants on the reverse (the exceptions are the Sulaymān type, cat. 434-436, on which the head of the bust is replaced by a diamond bearing the Arabic word بخ, *bakh*, and the al-Faḍl type, described in the next paragraph).[235] The legend APD occurs throughout the series in ObQ2, whereas *bism allāh* is never included. The word NWKW or NYWKW normally occurs in ObQ3, though on a few coins, an Arabic name is placed in that quadrant.[236] While the word APD is always written in the clockwise fashion, all other Pahlavi and Arabic legends are inscribed counterclockwise.

The ᶜAbbāsid series commenced with an issue in the name of Khālid (b. Barmak) in PYE 115 (about AH 149), later in the same year as the last posthumous issue in the name of Khurshīd. There are two basic groups within the ᶜAbbāsid series, which can be called (1) the general or gubernatorial series and (2) the Afzwt series. The general series is characterised by the presence of a governor's name to the right of the bust, with AFZWT and GDH in the customary position behind the bust. It is known dated PYE 115-131, 135-141 and 151 (there is also a hybrid issue in the name of al-Faḍl [b. Sahl] dated PYE 161, on which the fire altar and attendants on the reverse are replaced by a three-line Arabic legend). The names of the first two

(230) There is no evidence that the Muslims had taken control of any portion of Ṭabaristān during the year 102. The coin may have been struck at al-Rayy, which would have been the most likely place to assemble a military force in preparation for an advance into that province.

(231) Paruck 1924, pp. 135-136. Coins of Ardashir III and Kavad II are noted by Gumet (1988, p. 82) and Malek (1998, p. 119), respectively. The mint AM is unknown on Arab-Sasanian coins.

(232) There is one small source of worry regarding this attribution. On a satrapal seal—the only seal impression known for Āmul—the abbreviation is AMW rather than AM (Herzfeld 1938, p. 422, fig.27). In accordance with Gyselen's plausible theory that each abbreviation is unique to a specific location, could it be that AM refers to somewhere else, i.e., to some thus far undetermined location? However, given that AM is unknown as an Arab-Sasanian mint, it seems reasonable that it could have been located in Ṭabaristān during the Sasanian period, thus the abbreviation for Āmul.

(233) E.g. Walker (1941, p. lxx).

(234) Quoted by Malek 1993a, p. 113, n.18. If indeed the Ṭabaristān "dirham" or "drachm" weighed precisely half a mithqāl, then if would appear that the Iranian mithqāl—the term mithqāl may not have been the actual Iranian name of this weight but rather its Arabic translation —weighed in the range of 4.10-4.15g or exactly double the weight of the Ṭabaristān "dirham". This would be substantially lighter than the Syrian mithqāl of 4.25-4.26g, which has been accurately determined by examining the common post-reform Umayyad gold dinars. It has also been observed that the earlier post-reform Umayyad silver dirhams, i.e., those struck from AH 78 until the opening of the Wāsiṭ mint in AH 84, seem to weigh on the average about 0.07-0.08 grams less than the post-84 Umayyad dirhams (a rather minor weight-variation now generally accepted by numismatists). Could it be that the early dirhams were reckoned at 7/10 of the Iranian mithqāl prior to about AH 84, then increased in weight to represent 7/10 of the Syrian mithqāl?

(235) There is also an exceptional type struck in al-Rayy in AH 168, bearing the name Nuṣayr in Pahlavi, the mint and date date in Arabic in the usual mint/date positions on the reverse (cat. 352). The date must be a Hijrī date, because the name Nuṣayr is commonly found on a number of standard dirhams of al-Mahdī dated AH 167-168.

(236) The term NYWKW is known only on one regular Arab-Sasanian drachm, the recently reported issue of ᶜUmāra b. Tamīm of SK 84, which bears the word in ObQ1.

governors, Khālid and ᶜUmar, are inscribed in Pahlavi but, beginning in the middle of ᶜUmar's governorship, his name was written in Arabic. All subsequent names, except Nuṣayr, are written in Arabic.

On the Afzwt series, known for all years PYE 129-143, the word AFZWT is engraved in lieu of a name legend, leaving only GDH behind the bust. The hairball to the left is detached from the bust, and a second hairball is added to the right; the engraver had clearly forgotten what the hairball was supposed to be. A few AFZWT types bear the name of a governor in Arabic in ObQ3; two types are known, bearing respectively the names of Jarīr and Maᶜadd, with dates corresponding to those found on general types of the same governors.

The overlap of the gubernatorial issues and the Afzwt issues has never been satisfactorily explained. The most plausible explanation is that there were two separate mints within the province, one presumably at Āmul, the other somewhere else, perhaps Sārī. There are also a number of minor but consistent stylistic variations between the Afzwt and gubernatorial issues. This suggests that the two series were produced at two different mints, both indicated on the coin as Ṭabaristān; their locations are undetermined.[237]

Another problem is the overlap of dates within the general series between one governor and the next. This is well illustrated by the case of Muqātil, for whom Walker published coins dated each year from 137-141, dates which overlap with those of eight other governors. Yet only the year 139 is common; all of the specimens in this catalogue bear that date (nos. 444-463). It is probable that *only* 139 is a proper issue of Muqātil, and that all the rest are mulings involving an obsolete obverse or reverse die. The confusion of dates is clearly discernible in Walker's chart of the governors.[238] However, a quantitative analysis of the extant coinage should allow us to detect for the most part which dates are proper issues and which are mulings.

H.M. Malek, who has already published an analytic catalogue of the PYE 60-115 coinage (Malek 1993a), is currently compiling a corpus of the ᶜAbbāsid coinage of Ṭabaristān; publication is expected some time during the year 2002.

Later Sīstān

There exists a series of relatively barbarous coins, known to numismatists for a long time but which have only recently been properly classified in a major study by Sears, a synopsis of which has recently been published in *Yarmouk Numismatics*.[239] The first specimen of this coinage known to have reached a European collection is no. 372 of the present catalogue, which was included in the J.B. Elliott collection acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1859 and published by Walker as no. Ox.1 in 1941. The evolution of the understanding of this coinage since Walker's initial publication of a paltry few specimens provides an instructive case history of how the understanding of an obscure and intrinsically ugly coinage develops.

Walker published what would now be considered a minuscule selection of just six examples, all that were known in 1941. Although he included one with ضرب بزرنج ("struck at Zaranj") in the obverse margin, he was unable to offer any meaningful attributions of the remaining five specimens known to him. Given the small number of the then known specimens, it is not surprising that he was unable to perceive them as a related group of coins, and that he therefore scattered them throughout various portions of his catalogue.[240] In 1967, Göbl published a slightly larger group of these coins, all of the later degenerate types (Sears' Class IV, as noted below). He regarded them as clearly Sīstānī, but attributed them to the years AH 67-78, for which virtually no regular Arab-Sasanian coinage was then known. Moreover, he believed them to have been struck not by the caliphal governors but by the invading Huns (i.e., Ephthalites and their ilk), at some undetermined locality in Sīstān, presumably far to the east. Gaube, writing just six years later and without the benefit of new material—clearly unaware of an important group acquired by Paris in 1965—followed Göbl in all respects, except that he suggested a slightly earlier date, before AH 62, as the likely commencement of the series, and rejected the idea that the mint name was SK for Sīstān, instead leaving the mint attribution open.[241]

It was Bivar's discovery and identification of a drachm bearing the name of Tamīm b. Saᶜīd in 1968 that provided the key to unlocking the mystery surrounding this coinage. He suggested that this person was an ᶜAbbāsid governor by that name who was in Sīstān from Ṣafar to Dhū al-Ḥijja 169 (September 785-June 786), thus advancing by nearly a century the presumed dating of at least one member of this series. He also noted their debased alloy, their tendency to corrode in the ground, and that "their rough appearance has not attracted the attention of modern numismatists".[242] Unfortunately, his article remained unknown to Gaube and, as we shall later observe, to Kolesnikov.

In 1983 the British Museum acquired an important group of more than eighty later Sīstān drachms, with dozens of new varieties. Nicholas Lowick had intended to publish these coins, along with the fifty or so coins in Paris acquired in 1965, but his illness and subsequent death prevented his plans from being carried to fruition. A few years later and unaware of either the Paris and London acquisitions or of Bivar's article, Kolesnikov reviewed the series in the light of seven additional specimens in Saint Petersburg, and presented a few new conclusions. He proposed three different mints within Sīstān and suggested dating the entire series to the mutiny of Ibn al-Ashᶜath's last years in Sīstān

(237) The use of the same provincial name at more than one contemporary mint is not especially uncommon. It is best known from the Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if coinage of Spain struck during the 5th/11th century, where the mint name al-Andalus may refer simultaneously to as many as half a dozen distinctive mints.

(238) Walker 1941, pp. lxxiv-lxxv. See also the numerous dates listed in Unvala 1937.

(239) Sears 1999. The full work is noted here as Sears 1996a.

(240) Walker Th.2 (p.18, DWM type): Th.3 & I.11 (pp. 22-23, *allāh wallā ᶜawn* type); Ox.1 (= no. 372), with *ṣidq allāh* in ObQ1 (p.23); 244 (p.125) and 245 (p.126); the last bears the mint name Zaranj in Arabic in the obverse margin.

(241) Gaube 1973, p. 15.

(242) Bivar 1968, pp. 152-157.

(circa AH 83-85), obviously unaware of Bivar's article. Although Kolesnikov's hypothesis was cleverly argued and seemed utterly plausible in light of the small quantity of material known to him, subsequent discoveries have completely invalidated his hypothesis.[243]

It was also in 1983 that for the first time, quantities of these coins first appeared in the trade, substantial numbers of which passed through my hands and were featured in my sales lists, beginning with lists no. 30 (February 1983, nos. 226-240) and no. 32 (August 1983, nos. 232-242), in which many of the coins were illustrated. In subsequent years, further specimens came my way; a particularly important group was offered on my list no. 51 (July 1987, nos. 246-262), in which several extremely rare varieties were illustrated for the first time. In the early lists I proposed a chronology for these issues, which I altered from time to time in subsequent lists, as my familiarity with these coins grew. At first I attributed them to a conjectural "kingdom of Zābulistān", later to Arab governors in Zābulistān, still later to Eastern Sīstān, and most recently to "later Sīstān", an appropriate term persuasively suggested to me by Sears.

Most recently, commencing in about 1990, Sears undertook an important investigation of the later Sīstān drachm coinage, of which he had access to several hundred specimens.[244] His study corroborates much of the chronology I had proposed in the mid-1980s, but with a great many important corrections and refinements. Sears not only tried to establish the sequence of issues, but examined the number and sequence of dies, including die-links between different "types", thus formulating a study that should form the basis for all future research on this subject. His categorisation of the unusual metrology of this series is also of immense value, in particular his detailed analysis of both weight and fineness.

Given that there are but half a dozen of these coins in the present catalogue—and just one of the "later Sīstān" series proper (cat. 372)—a full analysis of the coinage seems inappropriate. However, a short description of Sears' classification of the material is in order. Sears has divided the Arab-Sasanian coinage of Sīstān into four classes: **Class I:** Normal Arab-Sasanian drachms of the main series, struck from circa AH 31 (YE 20 on the coins) until AH 85, most often with frozen dates. **Class II:** Fine silver issues, most with stylised or immobilised dates, struck circa AH 60s to 80s, thus contemporary with the last issues of Class I (the important DWM and ولى الله عون types, which I have already frequently mentioned, are included in Class II). **Class III:** Lightly to moderately debased issues, some with legible dates, many with symbols in the obverse margin (normally in ObQ1), struck circa AH 80s to 130s or 140s. **Class IV:** Moderately to heavily debased issues, none with legible mints or dates, nearly all with Arabic names in the obverse margin, struck circa AH 130s to 170s; Sears assigns the first issue of this series to Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd Allāh, governor of Sīstān AH 138-141.

Classes II-IV constitute the "later Sīstān" coinage, whereas Class I properly belongs to the standard Arab-Sasanian coinage. Most types within all three later classes share two common features, the Khusraw name legend in front of the bust and the *bism allāh rabbī* legend in the obverse margin (except on some of the latest issues of Class IV). The mint name on virtually all Class II issues is clearly SK for Sīstān, but it becomes increasingly degenerate on later issues: Kolesnikov's intriguing attempt to make sense of these squiggles and assign them to distinct "mints" collapses in light of the much larger body of material now available. It is now clear that the degenerate mint signatures on the Class III and IV issues are nothing other than debased versions of SK.

While some coins of Classes II and III bear legible Hijrī dates up to AH 107, later coins of Class III and all coins of Class IV bear illiterate squiggles in place of dates, with the possible exception of Class III issues dated AH 139 and 142.[245] Even the name of Khusraw and the AFZWT GDH behind the bust become increasingly stylised over the lifetime of this coinage. Kolesnikov was the first to observe that whereas the Pahlavi legends degenerate to the point of meaninglessness, the Arabic legends remain literate throughout. He postulated that this phenomenon suggests that the coins were proper Muslim issues, produced by Muslim mints and Muslim personnel who were increasingly ignorant of the Pahlavi script.[246] Although his attribution of these coins to the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashᶜath is no longer valid, his observation remains correct: as Bivar and Sears have each argued, this was a local coinage struck for local use by local Muslim authorities. The debasement of the metal was probably intended to discourage the export of the coins from the province of Sīstān, whereas contemporary reform-style Umayyad and ᶜAbbāsid dirhams were intended for long-distance trade and the remission of taxes to the central Umayyad and ᶜAbbāsid authorities.

The first and only attempt to date the coins of Classes III and IV has been undertaken by Sears, with remarkable success. In particular, he was able to identify several names on the Class IV drachms in addition to Tamīm b. Saᶜīd. He has thus been able to postulate a tentative dating for the entire complex series of these two classes, based on occasionally legible dates on the anonymous Class III coins and the gubernatorial dating determined for some coins of Class IV. His chronology is sound, though it is naturally possible that a newly discovered coin might require some minor alteration.

A curious aspect of this coinage, especially of Class IV, is the variation in both weight and fineness, even within a single type. Using the admittedly inexact method of specific gravity analysis, Sears has found that for type III, standard fineness was about 60-75% for the first sub-type (III.A, known dated AH 87-107) and 40-60% for all later sub-types. For Class IV issues, the silver content was generally 20-40%, though a few specimens are known with

(243) Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 229-232.

(244) Sears 1999.

(245) Sears 1996a, where he accepts drachms of Sub-Class III.F and III.H as dated 139 and 142 respectively, remotely possible for 139, more likely for 142. His illustrated specimens bear dates that are utterly blundered and in no manner discernible as either 139 or 142. Unless he has examined other specimens with far more legible dates, I would discount both possibilities.

(246) Kolesnikov 1998, p. 232.

less than 5% silver.[247] On the other hand, Sears has determined that drachms of both Class I and Class II maintained a carefully regulated fineness of about 87-89%. Moreover, whereas there is little variation amongst examples of Class I and Class II, there can be vast differences in fineness even between die-linked examples of Class III and IV, as though the mintmasters were no longer desirous of maintaining a fixed silver content at that time.[248] There is only one logical explanation that I can offer for this phenomenon. The coins must have been valued, and accepted in payment of taxes, at a rate considerably in excess of their intrinsic value. In these circumstances, the incentive to sort out and retain drachms with the highest silver content would have largely been obviated, since all of them could have been equally valued for private or government payments, irrespective of their fineness. Furthermore, the high domestic value of the coins would have strongly discouraged their export and thus could have protected the internal bullion reserves of the region.

Not only was there a reduction in fineness, but there was also a reduction in weight. Based on the 90% percentile, Sears has proffered standards of 4.06-4.08g for Classes I and II, about 3.88g for Class III and about 3.85g for Class IV. Because Sears was able to weigh substantial quantities and was careful to ignore coins that were clipped, corroded or excessively acid-treated during modern cleaning, his findings should be very accurate. He suggests that both the reduced weight and the inaccurate fineness of the last two classes were possibly derived from Ephthalite practice. I have myself observed that many Ephthalite and related types of the 6th through the 8th century seem to vary greatly in fineness, even amongst coins apparently found in the same hoard. However, weight and fineness of Ephthalite coinage has not yet been sufficiently investigated to permit us to determine whether indeed the later Sīstān mintmasters copied their working methods from the Ephthalites.

Copper coinage

Until now, no serious attempt has been undertaken to determine the chronology of the Arab-Sasanian copper coinage, unlike the complex silver, whose dating is now well understood. Writing in 1941, Walker knew of only about a dozen copper coins that he regarded as Arab-Sasanian. Limited numbers began to appear by the late 1950s, but it was not until Curiel and Gyselen's 1984 publication of a private collection of 174 coins on loan to the Bibliothèque Nationale that significant numbers were known. Gyselen's comprehensive catalogue (Gyselen 2000) includes nearly 550 examples, and many additional specimens undoubtedly exist in both public and private collections.

Copper: chronology and typology[249]

Needless to say, Walker knew of far too few specimens to even consider a chronology. The first attempt to suggest a dating came from George Miles in his 1959 publication of the excavation coins found at Iṣtakhr and Naqsh-i Rustam.[250] Surprisingly, and despite his limited number of types, his suggested dating was a reasonably successful approach. Unfortunately, neither Curiel nor Gyselen attempted to propose a chronology, despite their access to a far larger quantity of coins.

Arab-Sasanian copper coinage can be divided into three basic series, which more or less followed one another chronologically; the approximate dates given will be explained in the rest of this section. The **first** series may be termed the initial coinage, based on designs that closely derive from standard Arab-Sasanian silver and Sasanian copper (circa AH 57-84, possibly later). The **second** group is the main or pictorial coinage, insofar as the majority of the numerous types employ pictorial devices not observed on normal Sasanian coins (circa AH 78-95/96). Following the second series was a short term group of plain Arabic *shahāda* types, nearly identical to the group introduced in Syria around AH 80, then in Iran circa AH 95-101 or later. Finally, the **third** series consists of mixed types combining Arab-Sasanian designs and standard Arabic types; this group is the only one which is almost invariably dated (known AH 105-137).

In order to determine just when Arab-Sasanian copper coinage might have commenced, it is necessary to examine briefly the last century of pure Sasanian copper. We know that under Khusraw I (531-579), large masses of tiny coppers, known as pashīz, were struck in many regions, though most specimens, such as the more than 100 found in the excavations at Merv, lack both mint name and date. These coins vary considerably in weight, but the average weight seems to be in the 0.5 to 0.7 gram range.[251] As for Khusraw II (591-628), there is less copper known, despite the immense survival of his massive silver coinage. This apparent lack may be the result of even lighter weight and poorer production, with the result that relatively little has survived, and that what has survived is of little interest to collectors. As for the period after 628, virtually no copper coinage has yet been found; only three specimens in the name of Queen Boran and two in the name of Yazdigerd III have been attested.[252] Given that the known Yazdigerd III

(247) The extent of the variations observed by Sears far exceeds the margin of error inherent in the specific gravity method he has employed. Thus his conclusions are statistically valid. The principal source of inexactitude in this method of analysis is the uncertain nature of the base metals (copper, lead, antimony, etc.) used to alloy the silver. Residual gold can also affect the results of specific gravity analysis. Fortunately the inexactitudes can only negligably affect the large fineness variations observed on these coins.

(248) This phenomenon has been observed elsewhere. At the June 2001 American Numismatic Society conference on Arab-Sasanian coinage, Aleksandr Nymark described a similar situation in the Bukhārkhudā coinage of central Asia in the early 8th century. It has also been well-known amongst Ephthalite and related coinage of the 6th and 7th centuries.

(249) This section is derived from my lecture at the Arab-Sasanian conference at the American Numismatic Society in New York in June 2001.

(250) Miles 1959a, pp. 32 ff.

(251) Loginov and Nikitin 1993a, pp. 286-290. The estimate may be somewhat low, as many of the coins are corroded, sometimes severely.

(252) Sue Tyler-Smith kindly informed me about these extremely rare copper coins of Queen Boran and Yazdigerd III. The three known examples of Queen Boran were published by Malek (1998, p. 128, nos. 164-166, all from the mint of WYHC, year 1). Of the two

copper coins are relatively early in his reign, thus no later than the early 640s, it appears that there was a period of at least three decades throughout Iran and Iraq when no copper coinage was manufactured whatsoever, from the last issues of Yazdigerd III until the start of the first series of Arab-Sasanian coppers, circa 643/645 to the the mid-670s. Unlike in Syria, where large quantities of Byzantine copper coins were imported until about 658, there was no importation of foreign copper in Iran to fill the gap; nor is there any evidence of private production comparable to the pseudo-Byzantine coins struck in Syria from about 660 to 680. Thus it appears that the production of copper coinage ceased in Iran around 645 or slightly earlier, thus no later than about AH 23. Furthermore, large-scale production of copper coins in Iraq and Iran seems to have ended before the death of Khusraw II in 628; those of Boran and Yazdigerd might only have been used in a limited region.[253]

When was copper coinage resumed in the old Sasanian lands? Back in 1939, Ghirshman published a copper he assigned to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, alleging that the mint and date were Baṣra 53 (AD 673).[254] However, the name cannot be Ziyād and what he interpreted as mint and date are meaningless squiggles. The coin is considerably later, probably from the period of the main series, thus circa AH 80-100.

The earliest confirmed issues must be the very rare coppers in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, dated AH 57 and probably 61 at Iṣṭakhr (G18b, 18a) and 65 at Ardashīr Khurra (G1), along with the anonymous issue of Dārābjird dated 47 in the Yazdigerd era (G10a), which began on 8 Shaʿbān 58.[255] These are followed by a unique coin of Iṣṭakhr in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (AH 61-73), unfortunately with the date broken off (G63), three undated types citing al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who governed from Baṣra in the period 76-95 (G61, G78, G79), and several additional types. These few types constitute all the early Arab-Sasanian types that are currently known. The earlier coins, those of ʿUbayd Allāh and Ibn al-Zubayr, closely follow contemporary silver designs, save that they do not include the Arabic phrase *bism allāh* in the obverse margin. The al-Ḥajjāj types derive the obverse design from the radial type silver drachm, which was struck at Bīshāpūr and Ardashīr Khurra in 76 and 77; like the silver, it bears the name of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in Arabic and the full *shahāda*. The additional types, described later in this section, also utilise designs derived from contemporary silver, also without *bism allāh*.

The Dārābjird coins are rather different, a simple conservative type combining an obverse bearing the bust of Khusraw with a reverse bearing a fire-altar without the adjacent assistants. On the obverse, the name Khusraw has been replaced by the word AFZWT ("excellent"), always with *bism allāh* in the margin. The reverse has the mint and date in the usual locations, as on the silver coinage, and occasionally a short Arabic or Pahlavi inscription in the margin. The known dates are YE 47, 60, 67, 68 and 72 (G10a, 10b, 12) which, as on the contemporary silver coinage, should be in the Yazdigerd era, thus equivalent to late in AH 58 through AH 84.[256] The coins are relatively common, far more so than all other examples of the initial series.

In order to approach the question of when the main series might have replaced the initial group, it is useful to examine more carefully the three types of radial coppers in the name of al-Ḥajjāj, which I regard as a transitional series between the initial and the pictorial series. One issue (G61) bears the standard reverse of the silver coinage, with the fire-altar and flanking attendants; unfortunately, no known example of this miniscule type—all the radial coppers follow a standard of around 0.7 grams—bears a legible date. The remaining two types (G78, G79) retain an identical obverse, but portray an utterly different reverse, the *orans* figure, together with the forename of al-Ḥajjāj repeated in Pahlavi. The *orans* figure must surely have been derived from the silver drachms struck at Kūfa in 73-75 and at Baṣra in 75. The *orans* is also known on the obverse of an anonymous copper coin of Shūsh that has a purely Arabic reverse (G41), a three-line inscription بسم الله سنة اثنين وثمنين, *bism allāh sanna ithnayn wa thamānīn*, "in the name of God, year two and eighty" (i.e., 82), presumably the Hijrī year. Thus we can state confidently that the divergence from purely Arab-Sasanian drachm designs, i.e., from the first to the second series, should have taken place between 76-77, the date of the radial silver, and 82, the clear date of the Shūsh *orans* type.

In fact, the change from the initial to the main copper series must have occurred between 77 and 79, as evidenced by several additional types. The first of these is an undated copper of Iṣṭakhr in the name of al-Muhallab (G23), presumably al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, whose well-known

specimens of Yazdigerd III, one was minted at Iṣṭakhr (ST) and is dated either year 11 or 13 (Mochiri 1983, p. 381, no. 1360; he read the date as AT, which must be a careless engraving of ST). The second was reported by Mochiri to Tyler-Smith. It is a rather crude type of DA (Dārābjird), with the single circle and beardless bust on the obverse that characterise the early dated series. Mochiri suggested that the date might be 17, but Tyler-Smith suggests year 7, as the single circle obverse was no longer used after year 6 for the silver coinage (the beardless type was retained until year 10), and presumably obsolete for the copper as well at about the same time.

(253) However, it is not inconceivable that some of the degenerate types assigned to Khusraw I or Khusraw II are actually later. This matter has not yet been investigated; given the awful condition of most surviving examples it may never be possible to resolve this matter.

(254) R. Ghirshman, "Une monnaie de Zyad I. Abu Sofian, Gouverneur du Fas", *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, v.2, Paris 1939, pp. 697-701.

(255) References with G plus a number refer to the catalogue of Gyselen 2000.

(256) In Peus Auktion, 26 April 2000, lot 5556, Ilisch suggests that the date 47 is actually a PYE year, thus equivalent to YE 67. However, both the 47 and 60 coins lack the Arabic word *baraka*, which appears in RvQ3 on the issues dated 67 and 68. For that reason I am inclined to accept the date as the Yazdigerd rather than the post-Yazdigerd era; the YE 47 coins were thus struck twenty years earlier than the *baraka* type. Although the overall style of the two types is strikingly similar, a feature that might lead one to deny that they might have been struck twenty years apart, such long-lasting stylistic similarities are common in both the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian silver coinage, especially between late issues of Khusraw II (circa AD 610-628) and Arab-Sasanian coins through the governorship of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, thus up to AD 684. Similar typological longevity may be observed within post-reform Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid coinage in all three metals.

silver of Iṣṭakhr is dated 76 and 78, where he remained local governor under al-Ḥajjāj.[257] The second and third types are coins in the name of Farrukhzād from the mints of Dasht and GWBR (Jūr, i.e., Ardashīr Khurra) (G16), both of which bear somewhat enigmatic dates that can best be rendered as YE 64 (began 12 Ṣafar 76; the reading of this date is discussed in Appendix II). All three of these coins display standard designs of the contemporary silver coinage, lacking only the Arabic inscription, *bism allāh*, in the obverse margin. These three types all belong to the initial series.

However, it was during the subordinate governorship of Farrukhzād that the pictorial type first appeared, for there exists a copper coin of the mint of Tanbūk in his name that bears a totally non-Sasanian reverse, a ram facing left together with the mint name (G59). The obverse is a standard Khusraw style type with the name FRHZAT to the right and no inscriptions in the margin. Even though the coin is undated, if Farrukhzād's appointment indeed ended in 79, as I suspect to have been the case, then this coin must also have been struck no later than 79.[258]

To recapitulate, it now seems apparent that at some time between 77 and 79, the production of rather large quantities of pictorial Arab-Sasanian copper coinage commenced, utilising a wide variety of different designs (except at Dārābjird, where traditional types continued until YE 72, i.e., AH 84). These designs sometimes incorporate aspects derived from Arab-Sasanian silver, but a plethora of varied types, nearly all of which are illustrated by Gyselen, originate from other sources. Included are real and mythological animals, human busts and full figures, the standing caliph design from Syria, the humped bull from India, various Byzantine images, including the Christian cross-on-steps, and so forth. Some types include an image on one side, coupled with a purely inscriptional design on the other side, in either Pahlavi, Arabic, or a mixture of both. Many of these coins bear the names of mints, including Shūsh in the province of Khūzistān, nine cities in Fārs, and a few locations in other provinces of Iran; several dozen types lack a mint name. None are known from mints in Iraq, though it cannot be ruled out that some of the mintless designs could have been produced there. Unfortunately, few of these types are dated. The earliest known year is 80, on an anonymous coin of سابور (Sābūr, i.e., Bīshāpūr in Arabic), which has a facing bust of Byzantine style, presumably derived from early gold coins of either Heraclius or Constans II (G7), followed by the above-mentioned coin of Shūsh dated 82. The latest date is 94, written in Arabic on the reverse of a coin of Dārābjird bearing a winged horse on the reverse (G13). Only two other dated types are reported, one of which is a pictorial type from Arrajān (i.e., Veh-az-Amid-Kavād, WYCH) dated 83 (G49). The other is from Bīshāpūr presumably dated 94 (G3), but it is a type derived entirely from a drachm, thus stylistically comparible to the initial types.[259]

In fact, several coppers prove that the initial types were not completely abandoned by 79. The anonymous pashīz of WYHC 80 (G48) still retains the traditional Sasanian style, though the name area before the bust bears an honorary inscription rather than a name. It thus belongs to the initial series, despite the addition of the Arabic legend بسم الله الحق, *bism allāh al-ḥaqq*, in ObQ2. The only later coin that can definitely be regarded as part of the initial series is the terminal standard type of Dārābjird, dated YE 72, approximately equal to AH 84. Thus the last initial types overlapped the earliest pictorial types by at least seven years, from perhaps as early as 77 until at least 84 (and possibly as late as 94, if the tentative reading of the year on G3 of Bīshāpūr is indeed AH 94).

How long did this wealth of local pictorial coinage survive? And what replaced it? As already noted, the coinage must have reached the year AH 94, for that date is absolutely clear on the already mentioned type of Dārābjird and likely on the resumed initial type of Bīshāpūr. However, in order to estimate when the pictorial coinage came to an end, it is necessary to examine the Umayyad post-reform epigraphic copper that ultimately replaced it. The introduction of the epigraphic copper coinage in Syria took place shortly after the introduction of purely epigraphic gold and silver in AH 77 and 79, respectively, thus contemporary with the explosion of pictorial types throughout Iran. The silver was also adopted throughout Iraq and Iran in 79 as well, at about thirty different mints. The Syrian copper consisted at first of the plain *shahāda* type—*lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu* on the obverse, *muḥammad rasūl allāh* on the reverse—but by the year 87, as is clear from a Dimashq type dated in that year, various local types had taken over, usually incorporating the mint and occasionally the date.

The plain *shahāda* type is also known from Iran, in three varieties, a purely plain style, one with the Arabic word جائز, *jā'iz*, added, the third with the Pahlavi word APD above the reverse. All of these are so similar in style and epigraphy that I believe them to have been struck at a

(257) The silver coins are Peus Auktion, 30 April 2001, lot 627 (76) and Walker 228 (78).

(258) Silver drachms bearing the name of Farrukhzād are known from three mints, Ardashīr Khurra, Tawwaj and Bīshāpūr, dated 75-79 (see Appendix II). Although later drachms are known from these mints, none of them cite Farrukhzād. It thus seems logical that his governorship must have been terminated in 79.

(259) Gyselen did not know of a specimen of type G3 with a legible date; subsequently, two specimens appeared in the Peus Auktion of 26 April 2000, lots 5528-5529. At least theoretically, it belongs to the initial series, for its design follows a normal silver drachm of al-Ḥajjāj, with *bism allāh* in ObQ2 and the governor's name in Arabic before the bust.

The date is clearly CHRNKT, rather than CHRNWT, as would normally be expected for 94. However, on some of the silver hemidrachms struck at Ṭabaristān in PYE 94, the penultimate letter is also K rather than W (Malek 1993a, no. 31.2), though not as exaggerated as it is on Peus 5529 (on Peus 5528 the letter K is less exaggerated, i.e., the upper stroke of the letter is much shorter, thus more like the K on Malek 31.2). Thus it seems plausible to interpret the date as 94. This would be interesting, for it suggests that an "initial" type could once again be issued well after the introduction of pictorial types. This would be the case in Bīshāpūr, because I believe that the well-known, but undated, pictorial types of Bīshāpūr, with Byzantine obverses and a human-headed bull on the reverse (G—), were struck at some time between about 80 and 95, thus prior to G3. Could it be that for some unknown reason, Khālid b. ʿAbbād reintroduced the initial type design *after* the pictorial types had been issued? Strangely, his other known type, struck at Tanbūk but with illegible date (G58), has a quasi-Byzantine facing bust on the obverse.

minimal number of mints, probably all from the province of Fārs, from dies carved by a single engraver, probably during a short period of time. Although none bears a mint name, the great majority of currently known specimens derive from the excavation at Iṣṭakhr. Although none are dated, I would suggest that they are probably all earlier than the types that include the mint and date, as I shall argue shortly.

In addition to the plain *shahāda* type, there are purely Arabic epigraphic types bearing the mint, usually the date, and sometimes the name of a governor. The earliest pieces were struck in AH 100 at Kūfa and Baṣra, followed in 101 at four additional mints, Wāsiṭ in Iraq, together with Jayy, al-Rayy and Jurjān in Iran. Similar examples began in Fārs in 104, at Dārābjird and Iṣṭakhr, and in Khūzistān in 106, at Jundī Sābūr, followed by Sūq al-Ahwāz in 110. Surprisingly, there are very few later issues in Khūzistān (none at Shūsh) and only a limited number within Fārs. In fact, only the mints of al-Rayy, Jurjān, and especially Wāsiṭ seem to have been continually active through the late Umayyad period, from about 115 onwards. Not surprisingly, half a dozen Wāsiṭ fulūs were found during the excavations at Iṣṭakhr and Naqsh-i Rustam.

There exists one interesting and only moderately rare coin which offers an important clue to determine when the pictorial coins were replaced by the *shahāda* type. This copper bears a typical Sasanian bust on the obverse, with a simple cap rather than the Khusraw II winged crown, with the Arabic name الوليـــد , *al-walīd*, to the left and an undeciphered Pahlavi word to the right. The reverse is identical to the obverse of the plain *shahāda* type, *lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu*. There is no date or mint. But who is al-Walīd? Of course, the most obvious possibility would be the caliph al-Walīd I, who ruled from 86 until his death in 96, and was the first person to be named on any post-reform Umayyad copper coins, at Damascus in AH 87. Without further thought I offered an example on my May 1989 price list as an issue of that caliph. But could it refer to al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, cited on a lead fals of Jurjān 112, or the plain al-Walīd mentioned on a fals of Sābūr dated 120, or even the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II, who ruled 125-126?

Epigraphically, the legends on this undated al-Walīd bust type are very different from the 112, 120 and later types, but so similar to the plain *shahāda* issues from Iran that the same engraver must have prepared the dies for both series. It is also noticeably similar to the 100 fals of al-Kūfa and the 101 fulūs of Wāsiṭ and the three Iranian mints, perhaps with dies chiselled by the same die-cutter. Thus it could hardly have been struck much later than 101; given that the plain *shahāda* types most likely preceded the mint/date types, as they had in Syria some 15 years earlier, it was most likely struck before 101.

Based on the style and epigraphy, it thus seems plausible that one of the Iranian governors decided to place the name of the caliph al-Walīd on his copper coinage either shortly before or, more likely, immediately after the death of al-Ḥajjāj in 95, thus most likely from some time in 95 until late in 96, the year of al-Walīd's death. Minting presumably took place somewhere in northern or western Fārs, to judge by the large number of these and the related plain *shahāda* fulūs found in the Iṣṭakhr excavation.

So just when was the pictorial series of Arab-Sasanian pashīz discontinued and replaced by the plain *shahāda* series? The latest confirmed date for a pictorial type remains 94, the winged horse issue of Iṣṭakhr. Approximately 95-96, the al-Walīd type, which despite its simplistic format can be regarded as one of the last pictorial types, was produced somewhere in Fārs. It was probably replaced shortly afterwards by the plain *shahāda* fulūs, also manufactured principally, if not entirely, within Fārs. The rarity of the al-Walīd type suggests that it was produced in small quantities and not continued after al-Walid's death in 96. Assuming that the need for additional coins must have arisen very shortly after, it then seems likely that the plain *shahāda* series was introduced either late in 96 or in 97.

The *shahāda* type was in turn replaced by Umayyad epigraphic types, normally with mint and date, either local Fārs issues that are known to have begun in 104 or imported Wāsiṭ issues dated as early as 101, much as the equivalent Syrian *shahāda* types were at least partially replaced in that region beginning in 87. As for other regions in Iran outside Fārs, normal epigraphic types were introduced throughout the area between 101 and the early 110s. However, there are also numerous types with short religious inscriptions but lacking mint and date, which have been found elsewhere in Iran.[260] These were probably produced either late in the 90s or in the early 100s, thus just prior to the standard Umayyad types with mint and date, and contemporary with the plain *shahāda* types in Fārs.

The dating of the period between the last pictorial and the earliest Umayyad epigraphic types in Fārs may differ to some extent from developments in other provinces. Unfortunately, virtually no pictorial types are known from mints in other provinces, other than Shūsh in Khūzistan, though it is very likely that many of the known mintless pictorials were struck in other provinces. However, the introduction of epigraphic types can be dated in many regions, 93 in Balkh, 101 in parts of the Jibāl and at Jurjān, between 112 and 117 throughout the rest of the eastern caliphate.[261] These dates should be approximately understood as the terminus for whatever alternate types might have survived past the mid-90s in those regions, pictorial types, as well as *shahāda* and related types without mint or date.

Although the standard Arabic Umayyad types were introduced throughout Iran beginning in 101, a few later coins adopt some aspects of Arab-Sasanian design, either a Sasanian bust or a Pahlavi inscription; these constitute the third Arab-Sasanian series. The Sasanian bust appears on three groups of coppers, one from Balkh dated 111

(260) Cf. Walker 1956, nos. 727, 740, 741, all from the Lord Grantley collection. I have also seen several additional specimens over the years, but have not made records of them.

(261) For Balkh 93, see note (265); the 101 issues were discussed earlier in this section. The later eastern coins consist of Marw 112 (Tübingen, acquired in 2001), al-Manṣūra 116 (Walker 927), and Zaranj 117 (Tübingen AD7 E6). The mint of al-Manṣūra was located close to the Indus River in what is now the south central part of Pakistan.

(G95), several from Jayy dated between 113 and 119 (G31), and issues of Shīrāz dated 126 and 137 (G60).[262] All except the Balkh issue bear some Pahlavi words as well. Another group lacks any pictorial images; they bear only an additional Pahlavi inscription on what would otherwise be purely epigraphic types in Arabic. One was struck at Hamadān in 105 and bears the name FRAWZAT beneath the reverse, the other at al-Rayy in 113 and 116 (G36), with the inscription RY RWBAK "current at Rayy" beneath the obverse. All these coins have one purely Arabic side, with epigraphy that is almost identical with that of normal Umayyad fulūs of the eastern mints. On the other hand, Arabic inscriptions on the pictorial series of circa AH 78-95 use a very different epigraphy, with thicker letters that are less elegantly engraved, not unlike the typical Syrian coppers produced throughout the Umayyad post-reform period. Because of this epigraphic difference, it is unlikely that, with the odd exception, the pictorial series could have been produced simultaneously with the post-100 Umayyad fulūs, and surely not after about 104 in Fārs and 106 in Khūzistān.

The following chart summarises the conclusions developed in this section.

(1) Lack of copper coinage in Iran, from about AH 20-57.

(2) Initial Arab-Sasanian copper (series one), closely based on contemporary silver, AH 57 until about 78, and in some cases as late as AH 84 (and perhaps even later, as suggested by the possible year 94 type of Bīshāpūr).

(3) The main or pictorial series of Arab-Sasanian copper (series two), from about 78 until not long after 95.

(4) Plain *shahāda* and other simple religious inscriptional types in Arabic, from about 96 until about 101, slightly later in more remote regions of the eastern caliphate.

(5) Mint/date Umayyad fulūs, from 100 in Iraq and 101 in Iran until the end of the Umayyad period in 132, followed by similar ʿAbbāsid fulūs until soon after 200.

(6) Simultaneous with this last group, a limited number of mixed Umayyad/Arab-Sasanian types (series three), attested from 105 to 137.[263]

(262) The Shīrāz 126 coin is in Tübingen (AD5 E5), still unpublished. There is one later issue, the moderately rare fals of Bust 209 in the name of Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir first published by Markov but only recently more commonly available. Whereas this issue constituted the last vestige of Sasanian iconography on circulating Iranian coinage—there are later reappearances in medallic coinage—the motifs lived on in India, where increasingly stylised derivations of the Sasanian drachm were struck. The best-known of these is the *gadhaiya* paisa, struck in Gujarat from the 8th to the 12th centuries, the last issues being of increasingly debased metal. Curiously, the fine silver earlier issues could still occasionally be found in circulation in the *kori* monetary region (Kutch and the Kathiawar Peninsula) as late as the middle of the 20th century! Presumably these were hoard coins returned to circulation because of the similarity of their weight and silver content to that of the kori (last struck in 1948).

(263) There are also a number of copper coins from Ṭabaristān, of which only the ones dated 89 and 93 are clear (G47a, 47b), presumably PYE dates, thus roughly AH 122/123 and 126/127. There is another group with dates either PYE 70 and 80 or 107 and 108 (G46a, 46b, 47c [sic]). Malek has also examined this last group and interpreted the dates as 107 and 108 (1993a, p. 138). See also cat. 504, a variant of G47a, which is possibly dated PYE 138.

Copper: denomination and metrology

Late Sasanian copper coins were almost certainly known as *pashīz* (پشیز), Pahlavi PŠYC, which, as in the case of the Arabic word *fals*, meant both a fish-scale and a (small) copper coin. Henning concluded that on the basis of confused textual references the actual value of the *pashīz* could not be determined, but Göbl argued on the basis of the same evidence that the *pashīz* was either 1/4 or 1/6 of a *dāng*; he equated the *dāng*, a term that means "one-sixth" (of anything) with the obol, or 1/6 of a silver drachm. In other words, the *pashīz* was either 1/24 or 1/36 of a drachm.[264] The literary evidence is ambivalent, and derives mostly from extremely late sources or poetic references, thus highly unreliable. It is possible that at some time the *pashīz* really was nominally equivalent to 1/24 or 1/36 drachm, most likely in the early Sasanian period, when most copper coins weighed from about four to more than 12 grams. By the middle of the 5th century, the copper coins had declined to averages in the range of 1.2-1.6 grams, and to less than a gram in the 6th century, by which time the coins were tiny enough to have been called *pashīz*. However, for such lightweight coins, a ratio of 24 or 36 to the drachm would have implied a vast overvaluation of the *pashīz* in relationship to its copper bullion value, thus an open invitation for massive counterfeiting. Yet surviving later Sasanian copper coins reveal little or no evidence that such counterfeiting might have taken place. It is more likely that the ratio of the *pashīz* to the drachm was much higher, with the concept of 1/24 or 1/36 surviving as a popular cliché whose original context had long been forgotten.

Although there is no literary or intrinsic numismatic evidence for the ratio of the late Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian *pashīz* to the drachm, we do know that during the later Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid period, the ratio was much higher. The clinching evidence is the indication of a dirham ratio on many fulūs struck at eastern Iranian mints during that period. Coppers of Balkh dated AH 93 are described as "360 to the dirham" and in 111 as "60 to the dirham"; of Marw in name of Qutayba b. Muslim as "120 to the dirham" and in the name of Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh dated 112 as "60 to the dirham"; of Sijistan dated 136 as "60 to the dirham" and undated but in the name of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh (governor 138-141) as "50 to the dirham"; and of al-Shāsh 149 as "60 to the dirham".[265] These post-reform coppers are heavier than all but the largest of the late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian *pashīz*, and valued to a dirham

(264) Henning, in Frye and Henning 1957, pp. 236-238; Göbl 1959, pp. 388-390.

(265) Balkh 93 (Tübingen 93-17-1 through 93-17-4); Balkh 111 (Gyselen 2000, p. 179, type 95); Marw under Qutayba (unpublished, reported to me by Michael Bates from the ANS) and under Asad (Tübingen, new acquisition), Sijistan 136 (Carl Wurtzel, "The Coinage of the Revolutionaries in the Late Umayyad Period", *ANS Museum Notes*, v.23 (1978), p. 197, no. 47) and the undated type of Sulayman b. ʿAbd Allāh (Tübingen 96-7-3). The issue of al-Shāsh 149 has just been published by J. Farr and V. Nastich in *ONS Newsletter*, no. 168. There is also an undated fals of Marw inscribed "50 to the dirham" (Tübingen 91-20-3).

that is reckoned at about 7/10 of the Arab-Sasanian drachm. Since these value-inscribed *fulūs* are all more or less the same size, though they can vary considerably by weight (for example, the five specimens of Balkh 93 at Tübingen are cast specimens that range from 2.52g to 4.46g but are of almost identical diameter), it seems clear that different local authorities valued them very differently, reflecting local fiduciary policies. The same was undoubtedly also true of the late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian *pashīz*.

The metrology of late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian copper coinage remains obscure. In 1959 Göbl suggested that all Sasanian copper coins were related to a unit derived from the weight standard of the large copper coins introduced under Ardashir I (AD 224-241), which he estimated to have been in the range of 11 grams. This unit would represent the number of these heavy coppers equivalent to one drachm.[266] He concluded that late Sasanian issues were fractions of this unit, most commonly 1/6 or 1/12. With access to a great deal more material, Kolesnikov revised upward the basic unit of Ardashir I, to somewhere between 12 and 16 grams, but persisted in assuming that all subsequent coins, including Arab-Sasanian, continued to be interpreted as integral fractions of that unit. In his analysis of seventh century coppers, he purportedly found standards of 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/6, 1/8 and 1/12 units, and in several cases, multiple denominations within a single issue.[267]

If there indeed existed multiple denominations circulating simultaneously, one would expect that the weights of each denomination would be relatively consistent, sufficiently so that the citizens could easily determine which was which. Kolesnikov argued that for the Arab-Sasanian copper of GWBL in the name of Farrukhzād (G16), there were two denominations, a single of about two grams and a double of about four grams.[268] If this were true, there should either be two distinctive designs (not the case for this type) or their weights should cluster around these two values. However, the weights of existing specimens do not exhibit such clusters, but rather a typical broad bell-shaped curve, from 2.07g to 4.59g, based on 22 examples, of which 11 specimens weighing between 3.12g and 3.73g comprise the middle group. With such a large middle group, there could only have been one denomination, with an average weight within that group, thus in the general vicinity of 3.4g. The same phenomenon can readily be observed for other later Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian copper, as is clear from the weights provided for these coins by Kolesnikov and Gyselen.[269] Only in the earliest Sasanian copper coinage, especially that of Ardashir I and Shahpur I (AD 224-272), can clearly distinguishable denominations be observed.

But what kind of monetary weight system applied to the Arab-Sasanian coinage? There are two basic forms of denominational standards, which may be designated as a weight standard (or fixed-weight standard) and an appearance standard (or "look-and-feel" standard). In a weight standard, it is the weight of the coin that is essential for its acceptance. In other words, the weight of a given denomination must not vary extensively, as is clearly the case for Arab-Sasanian drachms and Umayyad dirhams and dinars. Such standards are not especially uncommon for copper coinage; they are well-known throughout the Greek and Roman era. It is also known for early Sasanian copper, as well as for later series, such as the sultanate copper of India, the Safavid fulūs of Iran and the crudely cast ʿAlawī fulūs of 19th century Morocco. Within all of these series, multiple denominations often existed simultaneously; the weight of each denomination was carefully monitored, so that the public could easily distinguish the different values. Although some degree of weight variation is frequently encountered within such a standard, the variation tends to be rather minimal, very rarely more than 10% above or below the theoretical weight.

What I have dubbed the appearance standard is quite different, for it permits a large weight variation between individual specimens. Quite frequently, the heaviest examples will weigh two or three times as much as the lightest. There is never a weight cluster around the lightest and heaviest weights, but, as noted above, a broad bell curve, almost invariably with a somewhat larger distribution of weights around the middle of the curve. This is normal not only for virtually all Arab-Sasanian coppers, but is typical of post-reform Umayyad coppers, as well as many later series, such as the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk fulūs.[270]

In lieu of weight uniformity, coins of an appearance standard copper issue traditionally follow a different set of

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Mintless types of the Umayyad period are also known, as 120 to a dirham and 60 to a dirham (Smirnova 1981, nos. 1674-1675 and 1676-1681, respectively).

(266) As noted above, this ratio may well have been 1/24 or 1/36. If this were indeed the case, then the ratios suggested by Kolesnikov for the 7th century coins, which he valued at between 1/2 and 1/12 of that unit, i.e., between 1/48 and 1/432 of a drachm, would indeed resemble the ratios known from the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid fulūs.

(267) Göbl 1959; Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 251-252, as well as frequent reference to individual types throughout pp. 253-310.

(268) Kolesnikov 1998, p. 276. Kolesnikov knew of the 15 weighed specimens listed in Curiel and Gyselen 1984 (nos. 123-137), to which Gyselen added seven more in her 2000 study. The 1984 group still shows the same median weight of about 3.4g.

(269) Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 251-310 (examples of what he interprets as two or three multiple denominations are to be found on pp. 252, 255, 263, 276, 300). See also Gyselen 2000, where are large number of weights are published. Most types with five or more specimens have a minimum weight of less than half the maximum weight, though it is likely that some of the lightest weights are the result of wear, damage or corrosion.

(270) For the Umayyad coppers, see Bone 2000, throughout; for the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk, see Balog's catalogues of these two series. Appearance standards do appear from time to time in silver and gold coinage, including virtually all central and eastern Islamic coinage from about AH 275 to 600. There is, however, a vast difference between the copper and precious metal appearance standards. Since copper coins are normally valued far above their intrinsic metal content, an entire series would circulate as a single denomination, even if some weigh two or three times as much as the lightest. On the other hand, when precious metal coins do not conform to a fixed-weight standard, they must be weighed, and in some cases tested for alloy, as they are normally worth only slightly more than their intrinsic value. The only exception seems to be coinage of significantly debased silver, such as the later Arab-Sasanian coinage of Sīstān, though in that case the weights themselves are rather accurately maintained, whereas the silver content varies considerably (see the section on later Sīstān).

criteria. They tend to be consistent in either diameter or thickness, though rarely for both, and almost always maintain a consistent design. Thus they usually maintain a consistent general appearance, so that they might be easily recognised and accepted. Arab-Sasanian *pashīz* of Bīshāpūr and Dārābjird exhibit this phenomenon, even though virtually all types have a minimum weight of less than half the maximum. Each type has a uniform design and a reasonably consistent diameter, though thickness can vary considerably. Thus despite the rather large variation of weight, they all look and feel approximately the same, as would be expected for copper coins of the appearance standard.[271]

It should be emphasised that whereas size and appearance tend to remain relatively uniform for a single type, the variation of both size and average weight between separate types can vary immensely. This is principally true for types of different mints, but can also apply to chronologically distinct types of a single mint. Kolesnikov interpreted these varieties as distinctive denominations, which, as noted above, he related to a unit derived from the time of Ardashir I. There is no contemporary evidence that different weights meant different values for copper coins. It is more likely that there was little or no relationship between weight and value, as was also the case for the late Umayyad and early Abbasid copper coins which cite their value against the dirham. In this group, issues of the same denomination might vary considerably in average weight, and vice versa, issues of different denominations might have closely similar weights. There is no reason to reject the possibility that the previous Arab-Sasanian copper coinage might not have been treated similarly.

The present collection contains a mere nine examples of Arab-Sasanian copper, only two of which offer information that supplements what has heretofore been published (cat. 503 and 504).

Mints

Much copper and virtually all silver Arab-Sasanian coinage bears an indication of the mint. On the silver coinage, the mint indication normally consists of a two or three letter abbreviation inscribed to the right of the right attendant on the reverse. The practice of inscribing a mint indication occurred as early as the reign of Shahpur I (AD 241-272) but only became commonplace under Varahran IV (AD 388-399) and universal under Valkash (AD 484-488). With the exception of a few special types, all subsequent Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian silver drachms bear a mint signature.

The identification of the various mint signatures, of which more than sixty are currently known for the late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coinage, has been a hotly debated subject in the numismatic literature, especially since the early 1960s. Although Olshausen succeeded in deciphering the legend TPWRSTAN on the coins of the Dābūyid Ispahbads and the later ᶜAbbāsid governors in 1843, he was stymied by the later Sasanian and the main series Arab-Sasanian coinage, despite having considered and then rejected the identity of MRW with the city of Marw. The honour for the discovery that the right-hand legend on the reverse was indeed the mint symbol belongs jointly to Mordtmann and Thomas, who reached the same conclusion independently at roughly the same time. Mordtmann is usually credited with the achievement, for his publication appeared first, late in 1848, whereas that of Thomas only appeared in the following year. Moreover, it was Mordtmann who followed up on his discovery with a series of lengthy articles over the subsequent 30 years. Indeed, the earliest systematic attempt to identify the mints of the Arab-Sasanian coinage was that of Mordtmann in 1854 (supplemented in 1879), followed by de Morgan in 1913, Paruck in 1924, Walker in 1941, Gaube in 1973, Gyselen and Kalus in 1983, Mochiri also in 1983, and Kolesnikov in 1998 (mainly written in late 1980s). Most recently, Sears has reviewed all Arab-Sasanian mint signatures in his 1997 doctoral dissertation, and is currently working on the same subject.

Nonetheless, the task of securely identifying all the mint signatures is far from completed; nearly half of the known Arab-Sasanian signatures remain either completely unidentified or at best only conjecturally located. This is despite the utilisation of an important new source since the 1960s, the numerous surviving administrative clay seal impressions (bullae) that not infrequently present both the abbreviation and the full name of the city; the importance of this source was first noted by Herzfeld back in 1938.[272] However, their utility is somewhat compromised by the fact that the Sasanian rulers often renamed or refounded important cities of their empire, with the disconcerting result that even when the full name can be determined, it may not be possible to associate that name with a modern location. Additional sources include the Armenian geographical works and Nestorian Christian ecclesiastical writings, as well as the mint names found on post-reform dirhams, where they are fully spelled out in Arabic. The difficulties of using these sources have already been outlined by Morony.[273]

In order to facilitate the use of this catalogue by the wider numismatic community of scholars, collectors and dealers, I have organised the catalogue listings first by mint signature according to the English alphabet, then chronologically within each mint, as far as possible. Different spellings of the same mint signature are kept together. Scholars accustomed to the order of the Pahlavi alphabet can readily find any mint of interest in the table of contents. In the catalogue an identification is provided for each signature, when known, but no attempt has been made to summarise the numerous arguments that have been published by various scholars for tentatively identified or unidentified names. That task seems inappropriate in a sylloge publication, whose purpose is to make material

(271) Several years ago I acquired a group of 30-odd specimens of the *senmurv* type of Bīshāpūr (G2). Almost none were heavily worn or corroded; their diameter varied relatively little, mainly as the result of irregularly shaped flans. There was, however, considerable variation in both weight and thickness. Compare the heaviest (1.07g) and lightest (0.51g) specimens published by Gyselen (G2.1 and G2.13); they are almost identical is size and condition, thus presumably of quite different thickness.

(272) Herzfeld 1938, pp. 416ff.

(273) Morony 1982, pp. 2-3.

accessible for subsequent research rather than to undertake that research itself.

It is to the precise identification of the mint signatures that most of the numismatic literature concerning late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins has been dedicated. In the early days, essentially before Walker's 1941 corpus, scholars all too often sought some toponym that might offer a match without considering whether that locality made sense in terms of the style, name, date, etc., of the coins involved. As recently as 1983, Mochiri followed the same naïve methodology, with the result that he was able to "find" a whole group of mints allegedly in Sīstān province, most of which in fact have nothing whatsoever to do with that province.[274] More recent authors, such as Gyselen, Kolesnikov and especially Sears, have taken a more sophisticated approach, asking whether a proposed identification makes historical and numismatic sense and whether style and inscriptions might have been utilised within the suggested region; new evidence, principally sigillographic, has also been taken into account. In my opinion, a more fruitful approach is not to seek an exact match but rather to localise the mint in as narrow a geographic range as possible. It is more important to know that mint "XYZ" is located in such-and-such a province or district than to know the precise location of "XYZ", especially from the point of view of the historian trying to make sense of the numismatic evidence. The Arab-Sasanian coinage is particularly suited for this manner of localisation, for the simple reason that most of the governors, especially after ʿUbayd Allāh b Ziyād, dominated only a small fraction of the eastern caliphate; once the geographic limits of a governor's authority have been determined, the presence of that governor's name on a coin can frequently help elucidate that coin's mint signature. In other words, by examining the coins in the light of the literary sources and vice versa, one can often attain a result that is, mathematically speaking, greater than the sum of its parts, and at the same time avoid the pitfalls that lurk behind every misreading and misinterpretation.

To see just how easily one can be led astray by incorrect readings it is worth examining the coinage of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd (AH 52-54) and al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ (AH 56-58), who struck coins at nine mints, ANWAT, BN, GRM, GY, HPYC, NAR, NAWGY, PYR and SRCN. In 1941 Walker proposed identifications for three of these, GRM as BRM for what he transcribed as Birāmqubādh (i.e., Bizamqubādh), which he equated with Arrajān, SRCN as ARCN for Arrajān, and NAR as Nahr-Tīrā, thus restricting the two governors to the regions of Khūzistān and western Fārs. Because there was at that time no reason to associate either of these two governors with the province of Kirmān, Miles totally neglected them in his important 1959 article on the coinage of that province. In 1973, Gaube became the first scholar to associate these mint-names with the prefixes or suffixes found before or after KRMAN on coins dated AH 58 and later. He concluded that the seven mints from this group then known to him must all be related to Kirmān, though with some reservations; for example, he still read SRCN as ARCN and was thus inclined to regard it as Arrajān. Most importantly, he rejected the seemingly obvious identification of NAR with Nahr Tīrā, an opinion first advocated by Mordtmann in 1865. However, he stopped short of definitively stating that these two governors might have ruled only in Kirmān. For al-Ḥakam he admits that "es scheint nämlich, als habe al-Ḥakam nur in Kirmānien geprägt" but does not exclude the possibility that he ruled elsewhere in southern Iran; for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān he says nothing.[275] In 1983, Gyselen, who discussed only BN, NAR and GRM, followed Gaube, though again with reservations. Finally, in 1985, Mochiri demonstrated conclusively that the entire group of mints, and thus also the governorships of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and al-Ḥakam, were restricted to Kirmān province, concluding that "the importance of this change of attribution lies not so much in the discovery of the new mints, which remain hard to identify, as in the elimination of such apparently well-established attributions as Nahr Tīrā for NAR (*n'l*), etc."[276]

Unfortunately, Mochiri's 1985 article never reached the attention of Kolesnikov, who was at the same time not convinced by Gaube's argument. He thus interpreted BN as Jundī Sābūr in Khūzistān (as had Mochiri in 1972); GRM as Garmakān in northern Iraq; PYR as Fīrūz Sābūr in central Iraq; ANWAT, which he reads as ANWAR, as Khuwār in the Iṣṭakhr district; and SRCN as Arrajān, following Walker. He accepted Gaube's reading of NAR as WAR and his assignment of the signature to Bardasīr in Kirmān province. Since GY and HPYC were known to Kolesnikov only as suffixes to KRMAN and thus as mints that appear only on coins of governors later than ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and al-Ḥakam, he concurred with Gaube in assigning them to Jīruft and Khabīṣ, respectively. He enumerated the mints of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as Jundī Sābūr, Arrajān, Bardasīr, and Garm-Kirmān (!),[277] and those of al-Ḥakam as Garmakān, Fīrūz Shāpūr, Arrajān, Khuwār and Bardasīr. He therefore did not perceive that the territories of the two governors were restricted to Kirmān, regrettably a giant step backward. Fortunately, by the 1990s Mochiri's recognition of the nine mints as Kirmānī had become widely accepted, as well it should be. However, some of his specific mint attributions, such as SRCN to Ḥurjand, and his unsupported assumption that ʿAbd al-Raḥman and al-Ḥakam were Khārijites, remain at best highly conjectural.

For the sake of clarity I have chosen not to employ the technical linguistic transliteration of Pahlavi names and mint signatures but rather the more user-friendly versions

(274) Mochiri 1983, pp. 135-159; the mints of SK (Sīstān) and BST (Bust) are well-known and long accepted. Of the other four proposed, Khwāsh is unlikely, due to the ductus of the signature, Farāh makes little historical sense (it should be in southern Khurāsān), and Kash is merely a misreading of Dasht Maysān (KŠ for DŠ on a coin that is stylistically typical of Fārs or southern Iraq rather than Sīstān); only Rukhaj makes sense and fits well with historical evidence for Sasanian expansion in the latter years of Hormizd IV. Surprisingly, the suggested identification of RHW with Rukhaj goes back to Mordtmann in 1865, thus one of the few suggestions not developed by Mochiri.

(275) Gaube 1973, pp. 67 and 83.

(276) Mochiri 1985, p. 111.

(277) Kolesnikov 1998, p. 175. However, on p. 48 he assigns the very same coin to Garmakān, as he does (p.179) the GRM coin of al-Ḥakam. He ignored or rejected the possibility that GRM and GRM-KRMAN could refer to one and the same mint.

utilised by Walker, Göbl, Gaube and others. In particular, I have represented the aspirate by the letter A rather than an apostrophe and I have chosen to use L or R, A or H, as deemed appropriate, and so forth. Even Göbl, that most rigorous of scholars, conceded this point in his discussion of countermarks found on Sasanian, Arab-Sasanian and Ephthalite coins.[278]

It is not possible here to present a complete list of all mint signatures and current thoughts concerning their identification. However, a provisional list seems helpful, with at least some indication of locality. Where appropriate, I have appended a brief discussion of past misreadings and misinterpretations, in the hope that the reader can avoid the pitfalls of the past.[279]

Mints that have been securely identified are indicated in bold letters. Mints known only from copper coins are shown in italics. Mint signatures in parentheses are misreadings that do not exist, or misinterpretations of well-known mints. Only misreadings found in Walker's 1941 catalogue and later works are included, as most other earlier misreadings were effectively dismissed by Walker. Only minimal information regarding the periods of operation is noted; for the third phase, dating has already been partially described at the end of the discussion of that phase.

(AB) — A misreading for AY and thus in no way associated with Abarshahr in Khurāsān, as has previously been suggested.

AFZWTK — Unlocated. Known only on moderately rare coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād in the late 50s.

AHM — Hamadān, a mint known only for Khusraw types and year 52 of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.

AKWLA — al-Kūfa. Until the mid-1980s this mint was read as ATRA and assigned to Ādharbāyjān. The discovery of its correct identification has proved a godsend for subsequent research.

ANBYR — Anbīr in Jūzjān district of Khurāsān province, misread by Walker and others as HWRA for Khurāsān. Anbīr operated both for the Muslims and the Ephthalites from the AH 60s to 84.

ANWAT — Undetermined location in Kirmān province.

APR, **APRŠ, APRŠT** — Abarshahr in Khurāsān province. It is possible that the APR coins of the Khusraw type and of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān may refer to a different location, such as perhaps Abarqubādh in southern Iraq; this matter requires further research.

(ARCN) — An alternate reading of SRCN. Either form might be correct.

ART — Ardashīr Khurra, an important mint throughout the Arab-Sasanian period.

(ATRA) — A misreading of AKWLA.

AW — Traditionally interpreted as Ahwāz in Khūzistān.[280]

AY — Uncertain, possibly Ērān-khvarrah-Shāpūr, i.e., Shūsh in Khūzistān (al-Sūs in Arabic). In the Arab-Sasanian period it is known only on some irregular coins, but was a very common mint during the late Sasanian period (see discussion under AYRAN).

AYPTAK or SYPTAK — Uncertain mint in Khurāsān province, possibly related to the region of Abīward in the northwestern region of the province. The mint is known solely on coins of Salm b. Ziyād dated 64.

AYR — Uncertain, probably in the Kūfan prefecture (see discussion under AYRAN).

AYRAN or AYLAN — Probably Ḥulwān in the western part of the Jibāl, close to the Iraqi frontier and along the main highway from Ktesiphon to the east. The mints of AY, AYR and AYRAN have unfortunately been regarded as mere variants of the same location, often assigned to Susa (Shūsh/al-Sūs in Khūzistān). All three of these signatures are found simultaneously during most of the reign of Khusraw II, a good indication that they refer to three separate mints. Sears has suggested that AY is Shūsh in Khūzistān, AYR is an unlocated site somewhere in central Iraq, and AYRAN is likely to be Ḥulwān.[281]

(AYWKW) — See SYWKW.

BBA — The camp mint, presumably travelling with the governor's entourage during military campaigns. This mint has often been misconstrued as BLH for Balkh, though the correct Pahlavi form of Balkh, BHL, is also known as a mint in Sasanian times, during the reign of Hormizd IV (579-590).[282] Aside from a few extremely rare Yazdigerd and Khusraw

(278) Göbl 1967, v.2, p. 164, nos. 164-165. In regard to the use of A for the aspirate, he admits that it is "an sich also regelwidrig, aber hier besser lesbar and verständlich".

(279) In his study of late Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian mints, Sears (1997) provides for each mint a lengthy history of its analysis, generally commencing with the 1854 work of Mordtmann. This information should be useful to historians who wish to understand how a current attribution came to exist.

(280) See especially Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 72-74, for an analysis of this mint, which he believes to have been derived from Ahurmazd-Ardashir, a known Sasanian name for Ahwāz.

(281) Sears 1997, pp. 73-76, 98-100, 177-178. I regard Sears' interpretation as the most convincing to date. He cautiously regards his suggestions as tentative, given the lack of currently known sigillographic evidence.

(282) Cf. Mochiri (1983, pp. 111, figs. 252-256) and his discussion (pp. 106-117). He regarded BBA as a form of Balkh, despite the historical implausibility of many of the issues with this signature. On Kushano-Sasanian dinars of the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, the mint is given in cursive Greek as βοξλο (Boxlo). The question of BBA has been treated in great detail by Gurnet (1991), who argues quite convincingly that under the Sasanians BBA was at first a peripatetic mint or attached to the capital at Ktesiphon (circa AD 380s-484), then closed, then a fixed mint probably at Dastgerd in east central Iraq (600-628), then an undetermined locality in eastern Iran (650-652, i.e., YE 19-20). For the Arab-Sasanian period (62-77), he concluded that BBA is merely the replacement of AYRAN between AH 61 and 62, thus a location somewhere in the west, despite the fact that many of the coins are in the name of Salm b. Ziyād. This concept is no longer valid, as it is based on obsolete ideas that Salm could have struck coins at a mint outside Khurāsān; furthermore, AYRAN continued past the year 61 until at least PYE 32, which began on 2 Shawwāl 63.

types and a unique drachm of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir dated AH 44, this mint served the Muslims only during the AH 60s and 70s, principally in Khurāsān, though the rather common year 62 issue of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād may have been struck in or near southern Iraq.

BH — Unlocated, probably not the same as WH and known solely as a moderately rare mint of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from 60 to 62. These coins are of good style, so that the coins of BH cannot be imitations.

BCRA — al-Baṣra.

BN — Also known as KRMAN-BN. Undetermined location in Kirmān province. Mochiri originally tried to read this mint as GN for Jundī Sābūr but later corrected himself and assigned the mint to Kirmān province.[283]

BŠ — Uncertain, perhaps a poorly rendered BYŠ though the probability that it is found on numerous dies might indicate a different identification.

BST — Bust in eastern Sīstān. Although inscribed on some Sasanian coins in the normal mint position on the reverse, it occurs only as an additional name in the obverse margin of coins of Salm b. Ziyād bearing the SK mint name on the reverse and the frozen year 56.

BYŠ — Bīshāpūr.

BYW — Uncertain, probably in the Kūfan prefecture because of Khusraw types dated 35 and 37. Sometimes confused with the common Sasanian mint RYW (probably Rēv-Ardashir, i.e., Rīshahr in Fārs), but the initial letter is clearly B and not R, i.e., it is not connected to the following letter Y, below which it is extended far to the left. Active only for Khusraw-style drachms.

DA — Dārābjird.

DA+P, DAP or **DP** — Fasā in Dārābjird district. Due to the recent discovery of a copper coin with the mint name fully inscribed as FSA (Gyselen 2000, no. 56), the identification of this mint now seems secure. See Appendix III for a discussion of this and the following signature.

DA+G, GH or **GARWM** — Jahrum in Dārābjird district. Walker, Gaube, Mochiri and others did not separate DA, DA+P and DA+G, but conflated them as mere variant indications of Dārābjird. There is no evidence that might suggest that during the period of Arab-Sasanian coinage, Dārābjird, Fasā and Jahrum would not have been located with the same sub-provincial district. Thus historians need not be disturbed by the former conflation of the three.

Dimashq (written in Arabic only).

(283) Mochiri 1983, pp. 401-404, and for the correction, 1985, p. 117. In his forthcoming analysis of the mints in Kirmān province, Sears has suggested that the form is BR rather than BN, but I find this reading unacceptable, due to the form of the second letter, surely N or W, certainly not R.

DŠ, DŠT, DŠTW — For silver coins, Dasht Maysān; DŠT on some copper coins probably refers to one of several localities in Fārs that begin with the element *dasht*. Mochiri misread the first as KŠ and assigned it to Kash in Sīstān, which is stylistically impossible.[284]

FSA — The full form of Fasā, known on copper coins of this mint; see DA+P above.

GARWM — Jahrum in Dārābjird district, known as a free-standing mint abbreviation only on copper coins.[285] See DA+GARWM above.

GD — Jayy. Gaube and most of his predecessors confounded GD with RD.

GRM, GRM-KRMAN — Undetermined location in Kirmān province. Walker read the mint as BRM and associated it with a putative Birāmqubādh, now read as Bizamqubādh, which was derived from Persian Veh-az-Amid-Kavād, "made better than Amid by Kavad" (an alternate name for Arrajān; see WYHC below). Sears has suggested that the abbreviation, which obviously must refer to the *garmshīr* ("warm district") of Kirmān province, refers to the town of Bamm, located in the eastern fringe of the province.[286] Although at a relatively low elevation and close to the Lūṭ desert, I have not been able to determine whether Bamm would have been regarded in the 7th century as located within the *garmshīr*.

GW — Probably Qumm. Certainly not Jurjān/Gurgān in Ṭabaristan or Jūzjān in eastern Khurāsān, neither of which were controlled by the Arabs at the time of the Khusraw type Arab-Sasanian coins known for this mint.

GWBR — Jūr in Ardashīr Khurra district (copper only); the town also bore the name of its district, Ardashīr Khurra, which was used as the mint name on all silver Arab-Sasanian and post-reform coins of this city, save for two rare dirhams dated AH 83 and 84.

GY — Jīruft in Kirmān province. Also known as KRMAN-GY.

Ḥimṣ (modern Homs) (written in Arabic only).

HPYC — Khabīṣ in Kirmān province, also known as KRMAN-HPYC with the final C occasionally omitted.

HRA — Harāt.

(HRCN) — An alternative reading of SRCN; however, on most examples, the initial letter seems more like S or A rather than H.

(HWRA of HURA) — A misreading of ANBYR.

(284) Mochiri 1983, p. 158 and figs. 418-421. Mochiri failed to notice that the style and ornamentation of the coins is closely related to that of Baṣra, rather than Sīstān, as well as to the drachms of DŠT, which is almost certainly Dasht Maysān for the silver coins. Moreover, the initial letter is D,G, or Y, not K.

(285) Gyselen 2000, p. 157, type 54.

(286) The *garmshīr* of Kirmān normally refers to the southern portion of the province, from which Bamm lies too far to the north and east. However, it is at quite a low elevation at the fringe of the Lūṭ desert, and is still renowned for its summer heat. The region may have been deemed part of the *garmshīr* in the early Islamic period.

HWRASAN — The province of Khurāsān; the actual location of this as a mint name is undetermined. Found only on a few extremely rare coins of the 70s.

KACRWN — Kāzirūn in Fārs province (copper only).[287]

KRMAN — Kirmān, presumably the provincial capital when standing alone. When attached as a prefix or suffix, then a mint somewhere in Kirmān province should be assumed.[288]

KRMAN-ANAN — Uncertain location in Kirmān province.

KRMAN-ANW — See ANWAT.

KRMAN-BN — See BN.

KRMAN-GY — See GY.

KRMAN-HPYC — See HPYC.

KRMAN-NAR — See NAR.

KRMAN-NAT — Uncertain location in the province.

KRMAN-NAW — Uncertain location in the province.

KRMAN-NAWGY — See NAWGY.

KRMAN-NHAT — Uncertain location in the province.

KRMAN-SRCN — See SRCN.

KWAT — Almost certainly Kārzīn in Fārs, known in early Islamic times as Qubādh Khurra.[289]

KWAT-GDH — The form of KWAT used on a rare copper coin (Gyselen 2000, no. 34).

MAT? — Unlocated.[290]

MR, MRW — Marw. Walker confounded MR, the short form of this mint, with MY (Maysān). Early coins use MR as the mint-name, but from AH 62 onwards, the form is always MRW. The Pahlavi MRW is repeated beneath the obverse of most post-reform dirhams of Marw dated between 79 and 84.

MRWRWT — Marw al-Rūdh, known only from the 60s and 70s.

MY — Maysān in southern Iraq.

NAR — A location in Kirmān province, also known as KRMAN-NAR, currently identified with Narmāshīr, which seems logical, despite the absence of sigillographic evidence. Walker and others have read this mint as NHR and assigned it to Nahr Tīrā in Khūzistān, having failed to note that after the year 58 it appears as a suffix to KRMAN.

NAWGY — A mint in Kirmān, also known as KRMAN-NAWGY. The mint is quite likely "new Jīruft", thus a new location founded in Sasanian or early Islamic times, though such a foundation is not known from literary or archaeological sources.

(NH) — An alternative reading of WH, now disregarded.

NHR — Unlocated, not to be confused with NAR, due to the epigraphic difference between the two. Many localities began with the prefix *nahr-* and it is not known which should be associated with this signature. Attempts to interpret this mint as Nahr Tīrā in Khūzistān province should be considered as a reasonable but tentative suggestion.

NY — Perhaps Nihāwand in the Jibāl.

(NYH) — An alternative reading of WYH, now disregarded.

PHRZZ — Undetermined location probably in north-eastern Khurāsān province, almost certainly *not* Farāh as suggested by Mochiri.

PR — Unlocated, most likely in the Kūfan prefecture and thus not to be identified with Furāt in southern Iraq. Mochiri has suggested Burūjird in the Jibāl, but there are serious orthographic objections.[291] The mint was active only for the Khusraw type drachms.

(PRŠ) — A misreading of FSA.

PYR — Undetermined location in Kirmān province, not to be confounded with PR, and never found as a suffix to KRMAN.[292]

(287) Gyselen 2000, pp. 143-144, types 35a-35b. Kāzirūn is a well-known mint from the Būyid and later periods.

(288) Both Gaube (1973, p. 98) and Mochiri (1985, p. 118) have attempted to localise some of the sub-mints of Kirmān, but their suggestions can only be taken as speculative, except for Khabīṣ, Jīruft and possibly Narmāshīr. Although I am not convinced that all of his suggestions are correct, Sears' analysis (1997) is the most useful thus far attempted.

(289). It seems entirely plausible that KWAT and KWAT-GDH are one and the same; the latter can securely be assigned to Qubādh-Khurra in western Fārs, known in Arabic and later Persian as كارزين, Kārzīn. The name is not yet known from seal impressions.

(290) Known only from Shams-Eshragh 1990, p. 85, no. 97. The mint seems clear in the accompanying illustration on p. 188; however, the date is clearly AYWKWŠST for 61, not 65 as indicated in the text. The breast ornament and marginal ornamentation is identical to coins of Baṣra from the same year. A remote possibility is perhaps Mattūt near al-Sūs in Khuzistān province (Le Strange 1905, p. 241), not at all far from the city of Baṣra.

(291) Mochiri 1983, pp. 404-406. If *burūjird*, modern Persian *borujerd*, is indeed an Arabicised compound of *perōz* and *kart*, one would expect the signature PYR (from PYRWC, *perōz*) rather than PR. Burūjird is not known as an Islamic mint until the 390s, under Badr b. Ḥasanwayh, whereas al-Furāt (الفراط) is known as an early Umayyad mint from 79-83 and 90-97. Furāt was located north of Baṣra, and it is conceivable that it might have been associated with the Kūfan prefecture.

(292) Walker at first associated PYR with the post-reform mint *fīl*, which he equated with Fīl in Khwārizm, but then rejected it as implausible, insofar as Khwārizm was only taken by the Muslims in AH 93. In any case, Khwārizm was not within the geographic range of what he believed were the mints of al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ. Al-ʿUsh, however, accepted it as Fīl (1984, p. 86, no. 102). The post-reform dirhams of "Fīl" (or however the mint name should be read) are dated 79 and 80, thus well before the Muslim conquest of Khwārizm. The Arabic name could be read, for example, as *q.b.l* (قبل), thus perhaps the district of *qibāl* (without the long *alif*, as is common in early Arabic) in the vicinity of Jayy (Iṣfahān). If the post-reform mint were to be attributed in that fashion, then the Pahlavi mint PYR/PYL would obviously be completely different, as the initial letter would have to be K rather than P, in order for it to match a word like *qibāl*.

Alternatively, the mint may be regarded as the beginning of PYRWC for Perōz, "victory", perhaps the initial part of an honorary name for the capital of Kirmān province, which in early Islamic times would have

RD — Rayy. Not to be confused with GD. Active only for Khusraw type drachms.

SK — Sīstān (Sijistān in Arabic).

SRCN — Undetermined location in Kirmān province, alternatively read as ARCN but not to be interpreted as Arrajān in Fārs. Mochiri has suggested the possibility that the correct format is HRCN for the village of Ḥurjand, but this seems questionable, as Ḥurjand is not known to have existed in the 7th century and the initial letter resembles the traditional form of s (or perhaps A) rather than H. It is also found as KRMAN-SRCN.

ST — Iṣṭakhr. At least in theory, the mint ST could be equally construed as AT, a serious controversy for 5th and 6th century Sasanian coins.[293] There seems no reason to view any Arab-Sasanian example as anything other than ST for Iṣṭakhr.

ŠTWRSTAN — Shahristān, unknown location, probably in Khurāsān province, perhaps in the general vicinity of Jūzjān.

ŠY — Undetermined location somewhere between Yazd, Dārābjird and Kirmān, presumably within Fārs province. Shīrāz itself and Sīrjān (Shirgan), the capital of Kirmān province, are unlikely on both stylistic and epigraphic grounds. The mint was active from the early Khusraw period until the year AH 52, the last being an issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.

"SYWKW" or "SYWKAN" — Uncertain location, most likely somewhere in southern Iraq; both forms probably refer to the same location.[294] Active only during the governorship of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

SYZSTAN or SYZCSTAN — Unlocated, almost certainly not Sīstān as suggested by Walker; should be sought in Khurāsān province.

TNBKW — Probably Tanbūk in Fārs (copper only, see Appendix II).

TART — Almost certainly Tawwaj in the Ardashīr Khurra region of Fārs. The mint is thus T followed by ART, i.e., Tawwaj in Ardashīr Khurra.

TSFWN — Ktesiphon, the ancient capital of the Sasanian empire, known only for the year 63 in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

WH — Veh-Ardashir in central Iraq, close to Ktesiphon (Arabic Bahurasīr, a post-reform mint active solely in AH 97).

WYH — Bihqubādh in central Iran, not to be confused with WH or WYHC.[295]

WYHC — Arrajān, known in the early Arabic period as Bizamqubādh; it is likely that in Sasanian times, this abbreviation referred to a different locality (see Appendix I).

"YARY"? — Uncertain reading; unknown location, probably in the Kūfan prefecture.[296]

YZ — Almost certainly Yazd. Earlier writers read this as ZR and assigned it to Zaranj, which is untenable on numerous grounds.[297]

(ZR) — A misreading of YZ.

Dates

With the exception of a couple of special types, none of which are represented in the Shamma and Heberden collections, all Arab-Sasanian drachms of the main series are dated. Only the later Sīstān series, struck for the most part after the cessation of the regular series in the year 85, is undated, or rather, bears stylised and unreadable squiggles where the date would normally appear. It is precisely because the typical drachm bears mint and date, and frequently the name of a governor, that the drachms constitute an invaluable historical source. This is especially beneficial to historians, since all surviving historical texts pertaining to that period were composed at least a century later and are thus either fragmentary or inaccurate for events of the first Islamic century. However, the interpretation of the dates is not without hazard, for three different eras were used on the coins, often simultaneously at different mints. Moreover, some dates were retained as "frozen" years, much as series dates found on 15th century Ottoman coinage or on current American banknotes. In addition, there are large numbers of "irregular" coins bearing dates that cannot be interpreted in any of the three systems. Finally, the ambiguities of the Pahlavi script, as well as the occasional use of Pahlavi numerals in the 70s Hijrī, have led to numerous date misreadings.

As is clear from the historical introduction above, the first era to be used on the Arab-Sasanian drachm was the so-called Yazdigerd era (here abbreviated YE), which was

been Shirgan (Sīrjān). Sears has proposed this possibility, and his arguments seem convincing.

(293) The possibility of two separate mints, ST and AT, is conceivable during the Sasanian period, especially during the 5th and the first half of the 6th century. However, the uniform style of all Arab-Sasanian drachms clearly indicates that there could only have been a single mint. Iṣṭakhr is likely, especially because a large number of ST copper coins were found in the excavations at Iṣṭakhr.

(294) I had originally suggested AYWKY and AYWKAN, given the similarity to the word AYWKY for "one". However, upon closer examination I have concluded that the initial letter is more likely s than A. It is represented by two well-spaced strokes curving downwards and then towards the left. On coins of this mint dated to the year 60 (cat. 387), the s of the date šST is identical to the first two strokes of the mint. However, the first two strokes may also be interpreted as two successive letters of the form Y, D, or G, rather than a single letter S.

(295) Although the component for "veh" should be just WH, as at Veh-Ardashir, Gyselen (1989a, p. 116, second row from the bottom) has published three seal impressions which show that at Bihqubādh (Veh-Kawad), the prefix was WYH rather than WH, perhaps merely to enable officials to distinguish the two signatures. It was a very rare Arab-Sasanian mint, from Khusraw types to AH 63, though it had been rather productive during the reign of Khusraw II. The mint was previously often interpreted as NYH, usually associated with Nihāwand in Jibāl, but the sigillographic identification with Veh-Ardashir seems indisputable.

(296) Known only from a Khusraw type drachm dated 39.

(297) Walker read this mint as ZR and assigned it to Zaranj in Sīstān, but Mochiri read it correctly and assigned it to Yazd, which is highly probable though not yet confirmed by sigillographic evidence. See Mochiri 1986, pp. 68-69; if he is correct that the mint is clearly YZD on a year 4 coin of Khusraw I, then his argument is secure; the coin is unfortunately not illustrated.

nothing other than posthumous regnal years of Yazdigerd III. This is not surprising, given that the first identifiably Muslim coins are drachms differing from ordinary drachms of Yazdigerd III dated to his year 20 only by the addition of *bism allāh* or *jayyid* in the obverse margin. Regnal years were undoubtedly retained, either frozen or actual, in order to ensure the acceptance of the coins. Year one of the Yazdigerd era corresponds to AD 632/633 (see chart).

The use of posthumous regnal years is quite unusual, though it has occurred from time to time. The practice was rather common only amongst a number of Indian princely states in the late 18th and much of the 19th century. A good example is the silver coinage of Indore, where the title and regnal years of the Mughal emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II (1759-1806) were retained until nearly 75 years after his death.

Beginning in the year 31 of the Yazdigerd era (AD 662/663, commencing on 15 Ṣafar 42), the Hijrī calendar began to replace the Yazdigerd era, though a few earlier Hijrī-dated coins are believed to exist, as noted in the preceding historical overview.[298] By the year YE 39 (AH 50/51), the Hijrī calendar had effectively replaced the Yazdigerd system as the principal method of dating. However, at the mints of the Dārābjird district (Dārābjird, Fasā and Jahrum), the Yazdigerd era was used on nearly all drachms until the final issue in YE 71 (AD 702/703, closely equivalent to AH 83).

The third era found on Arab-Sasanian coinage has been termed the Post-Yazdigerd Era (PYE), first elucidated by Olshausen in his brilliant decipherment of the Ṭabaristān coinage in 1843. Its initial year (PYE 1) is the same as YE 21, i.e., exactly twenty years later than the Yazdigerd era, thus corresponding to AD 652/653. It is found principally on two series, the very common Ṭabaristān "hemidrachms" and the rather rare main series drachms struck principally at AYRAN in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (cat. 44-45).

Although the use of post-39 dates of the Yazdigerd era were normally restricted to the Dārābjird mints, there are a few later examples, such as YE 62 on a coin of KRMAN-HPYC in the name of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, YE 63 on a coin of GRM-KRMAN in the name of ʿAṭīya b. al-Aswad, and YE 64 on coins of ANBYR and MRWRWT in the name of Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh.[299] Since the normal drachms of all these governors bore Hijrī dates, how could the occasional use of Yazdigerd dates have occurred? It seems that in the eastern regions of the caliphate, Yazdigerd years must have remained in common use. This was undoubtedly true at Dārābjird, given that such years were retained on virtually all drachms of that district until about five years after the introduction of post-reform dirhams (the dirhams were dated only in the Hijrī era, beginning in AH 79). In my opinion, the infrequent appearance of the Yazdigerd era elsewhere suggests that, despite the formal use of Hijrī years on the coinage, Yazdigerd years were still in local use, perhaps due to the preference for a solar, rather than a lunar year, appropriate for agriculture under the Iranian climate. Thus occasionally a die-cutter might have forgotten that he was supposed to engrave a Hijrī year and instead chiselled a Yazdigerd year.

The simultaneous use of multiple eras is not the only complication which bedevils the dating of Arab-Sasanian coins. We are also confronted with frozen or immobilised dates, inauthentic dates, and the continued use of obsolete dies. Each of these features requires some explanation.

A frozen date is a date that is maintained after the end of the inscribed year. This is not an uncommon phenomenon, even in the 20th century.[300] However, there is no evidence of frozen dates in the Sasanian or Byzantine coinage; the obsolete dates found on Arab-Byzantine coins are dates copied from the prototypes and not frozen dates.

As noted above, the first true Arab-Sasanian drachms were struck in Sīstān and Kirmān provinces bearing the Yazdigerd year 20. Despite the existence of a few extremely rare coins of the SK mint bearing years in the later twenties, the year 20 was retained as a frozen year for nearly fifteen years, i.e., until about the year YE 34 (=AH 45/46). The same must have been true of the mints in Kirmān, for we have coins dated year 20 in the name of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir struck at NAR and BN,[301] whereas ʿAbd Allāh could reasonably only have struck these coins after his second appointment to the governorship of Baṣra in AH 41 (=YE 30), as Muʿāwiya's deputy.[302] From AH 45-75,

(298) E.g. SY 33 in the name of Khusraw (misread by Mochiri as Yazdigerd, but the correct reading is evident in his illustration no. 81) and with جيد in ObQ2 (Mochiri 1986, p. 51, no .98); there are three additional specimens in the Warden-Album collection, two with جيد in the margin, one with لله بسم in the margin. On all three, the date is more likely 33 than 31: the use of جيد, together with the overall style of the coin, suggests an early date for its production. Thus I would interpret the date as Hijrī rather than YE, as has been discussed in the historical introduction.

(299) The first in the Malek collection, the other noted in the sections on the respective governors.

(300) The retention of frozen dates was of course extremely common on most Ottoman silver coinage throughout the 9th/15th century, and on copper until about 100 years later. The process resumed after about 1370/1950 in many Arab nations, and remains the norm in Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and perhaps Oman. The ultimate frozen date is 1780 on the thaler of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa. It is the year of her death, just as the frozen date 20 is the year of Yazdigerd III's death. The thaler has been struck intermittently in large quantities ever since, and is still in production today.

(301) For NAR 20, Walker ETN.10 (p.49) with the patronymic, Dam.2 (p.51) without the patronymic, and for BN 20, Th.8 (p.50), also without the patronymic. There is also a coin with the simple name APDWLA struck at NAR with clear date 48. It can best be explained by positing some sort of delay between Ziyād's intention at Baṣra to remove the name of Ibn ʿĀmir and that information reaching (or being accepted at) the Kirmān province (Walker Dam.3, p. 51; the date is clear despite Walker's query). But the coin should have borne the patronymic if indeed struck officially in 48. The coin is more likely a mysterious unofficial issue of some sort, as would be consistent with its crude style and its clumsy rendering of the mint signature.

(302) Mochiri ascribes the coins without the patronymic to a putative Khārijite leader by the name of ʿAbd Allāh (Mochiri 1986, pp. 37-39 and 44), otherwise unknown to history. Nonetheless, as noted in the section of this introduction concerning the development of the drachm, I concur with Gaube, "es besteht kein Zweifel daran, daß dieser 'Abdallāh ... 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir ist". The latter's first tenure as governor of Baṣra extended from 29 to the Battle of the Camel in 36, an interval that includes YE 20.

virtually all coins struck in Sīstān province bear frozen dates, each used for between two and eight years.

Frozen dates were presumably common, if not the norm, on dated Arab-Sasanian copper coins. The retention of frozen dates seems to have become the standard on most dated copper coins of the Umayyad caliphate from the late 90s onward, and almost certainly widespread throughout the ᶜAbbāsid copper coinage until its demise around the 230s. The purpose of this process may have varied from time to time, and its importance has not yet been studied.

The other principal occurrence of a frozen date is on the coins of Dārābjird district struck between AH 43 and AH 56/57 (YE 45). As noted in the historical overview, the date 43 was first used by ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, for whom it almost certainly indicated a true Hijrī date on coins of his first series, namely the issue lacking his patronymic. Perhaps because of its proximity to Kirmān, another province still using frozen dates (at least until AH 48), the date 43 was retained for thirteen years, whereupon Yazdigerd dating was reinstituted, commencing with YE 45. The seven consecutive series of Dārābjird bearing this frozen date are noted in the section of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir. As mentioned in the same section, frozen dates were adopted throughout the Baṣran prefecture in 45 and 46, whereas actual Yazdigerd years were maintained in the Kūfan prefecture.

Another problem which is occasionally encountered on Arab-Sasanian coins is that of inauthentic dates. These are usually associated with unofficial or illicit issues. We have already discussed the year 26 coins that I believe to have been struck with purloined dies salvaged from the remains of the Sasanian treasury.[303] There are a number of year 30 coins that are similarly peculiar, all in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, undoubtedly also an illicit coinage.[304] Another mysterious coin is the year "11" drachm of Ziyād struck at šy, with a year that is clearly either YACDA for 11 or SYCDA for 13. Mochiri prefers to regard the left legend not as a date but as the word šYDA, "devil". Thus he perceives this coin to be a clandestine issue of the Yazīdiya, a group that surely did not even exist at the time.[305]

A third source of confusion is the retention of obsolete dies. In many Islamic series it is clear that obsolete dies were not necessarily discarded, especially when the inscriptions on an obsolete die, such as an old date, were not politically sensitive. When both obverse and reverse sides are dated, a rather uncommon occurrence in Islamic coinage, mismatched dates are very frequent, as in the coinage of the Īlkhān Ghāzān Maḥmūd struck in Iran from AH 698-704 or that of the Manghīt rulers of Bukhārā from AH 1200-1337. Dies were relatively expensive to manufacture and distribute, requiring a highly skilled craftsman, and thus would be used until they became worn out, broken or politically unacceptable, especially on those occasions when the die-engraving facility was overburdened or short of staff (see the section on dies). In the Arab-Sasanian coinage, the most obvious example of mismatched coins are the admittedly very rare drachms of the *bism allāh rabbī* Khusraw type struck at Bīshāpūr in 51 and the Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān drachms of the same mint dated 49.[306] The great majority of Bīshāpūr coins of the 47-54 period clearly show that the transition from the Khusraw type inscribed *bism allāh rabbī* to the named Ziyād coinage took place during the year 50. Thus the *bism allāh rabbī* coin of 51 must be a muling of a year 51 reverse die with an old obverse; the Ziyād drachm of 49 must be a muling of a Ziyād obverse with an old reverse. The overlap of KRMAN-NAR coins of ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad and al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra in 76 and 77 may well be the result of a similar process, most likely al-Muhallab's use of an old 76 reverse, for it would seem inconceivable on political grounds that the officials of the Marwānid al-Muhallab would intentionally use an obverse die bearing the name of his Khārijite predecessor, ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad. Of course, the mint personnel may not have been able to read the inscriptions or perhaps simply would not have cared, so long as the old die was still in working order. Normally, the use of old dies in the Arab-Sasanian series seems to be a relatively short-term affair, because of the rapid rate at which dies must have been consumed. For all but the rarest types, the evidence is that most issues used a lot of dies, probably 20 or more per year, still more for the most abundant types (see the section on dies and die production). Thus the likelihood of a die surviving into the following year was relatively small, and once restored to service, the die would probably be quickly worn out. Nonetheless, historians should be careful to take into account the ever-present possibility of the retention of obsolete dies.

Although it is not necessarily out of the question that coins might have been struck within Kirmān in the name of ᶜAbd Allāh during his first governorship (AH 29-35, roughly YE 18-25), I believe it to be highly unlikely. It seems logical that the YE 20 coins of Yazdigerd with *jayyid* or *bism allāh*, followed by those of Khusraw with dates YE 20 and YE 25 with *bism allāh*, should have preceded all those bearing the name ᶜAbd Allāh. Since the rare year 20 types of ᶜAbd Allāh exist either with or without his patronymic, they should date to more or less the same period as the BYš coins of the same two types, i.e., circa AH 42-44 and possibly later, thus within his second governorship of AH 41-44 or slightly later.

For unknown reasons, there seems to have been a reintroduction of frozen dates from AH 44-47/48 for coins in the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir, as described in the section on his coinage; actual dates were restored in 47/48 by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.

(303) See the section at the end of the description of the coinage of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

(304) Mochiri (1986, p. 45) lists four pieces of four different mints, AYR, DA (Dārābjird), WYH (called by him NIH) and GD (Jayy), all dated 30. Curiously, the Dārābjird coin (Mochiri no. 61) bears *bism allāh rabbī* in the obverse margin and lacks the dot triplets and outer dots normal at that mint; thus it can hardly be a true Dārābjird product. The obverse die of this "Dārābjird" issue must be of a different mint, either genuine or imitative, while the reverse die is perhaps yet another example of an illicitly acquired surviving die from the reign of Khusraw II.

(305) Walker Dam.1 (p.44); Mochiri 1986, p. 27.

(306) Bīshāpūr 51 of the Khusraw type is cat. 140, also Paris 1965.467; Bīshāpūr 49 of Ziyād is Paris 1965.492. The rarity of these mulings is probably due to two factors: (1) the dies were probably already rather worn by the time they were used obsoletely and thus lasted for only a short time; (2) the coinage of Bīshāpūr at this period was rather substantial, so that the overwhelming number of dies would have deteriorated within the intended year, leaving very few old dies that were still workable.

The date is normally written out in Pahlavi words on the reverse, to the left of the left fire-altar attendant. When clearly and properly engraved, dates can normally be read with confidence, though there are ambiguities inherent in the Pahlavi spelling of many numbers. The greatest source of confusion is the difficulty of distinguishing YAC ("one") from SYC ("three"), a problem that has led in particular to a long-running debate over whether the frozen year on early Dārābjird drachms should be read as 41 or 43. In my opinion, however, except for first phase drachms dated either 21 (YACWYST) or 31 (YACSYH), and the one known coin of 41 (YACHL),[307] all later dates compounded with "1" (51, 61, 71, etc.) use the form AYWK or AYWKW for "one", perhaps because the mint officials were intentionally trying to remove the confusion between "one" and "three". Normally, AYWKW is the stand-alone form of "one" and not used in compounds.

Stand-alone numbers from "two" to "ten" are always represented on Sasanian coins by their Aramaic monograms, one of the great sources of difficulty in the Pahlavi language. Thus "two" is written as TRYN, even though it would have been pronounced as DW. While the Aramaic stand-alone forms are never found in compound dates on purely Sasanian coins, they occasionally appear on Arab-Sasanian drachms, especially TRYN for "two", TLTA for "three", more rarely ARBA for "four". Since DW for "two" and S or SY for "three" can be confused when carelessly engraved, here again it seems that the engravers were using the Aramaic monograms for the sake of clarity. This is particularly apparent on the year 42 coins of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir described in the section on his coinage.

Carelessly engraved or misspelled dates are very frequent, and have led to the publication of an alarming number of incorrectly interpreted dates, much to the chagrin of perplexed historians. Letters are often omitted, sometimes out of carelessness, but also in order to fit the date into the small space reserved for it on the reverse. This is especially true of dates in the 70s and 80s, for the decimal portion of the number, HFTAT or HŠTAT, leaves little room for the unit. This has led to some misinterpretations. In the year 71, coins were struck at the Kirmān mints first in the name of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, later in the name of ʿAṭīya b. al-Aswad. However, Muṣʿab's drachms bear the year in the form AYWHFTAT or AYWKHFTAT, whereas those of ʿAṭīya use the simpler form YHFTAT; until 1990, none of the year 71 drachms of ʿAṭīya had been correctly published, whence the initial date of ʿAṭīya's tenure appears in the literature as 72 rather than 71.[308]

On nearly all drachms of Bīshāpūr struck in 80, the date is written as HYŠTAT instead of the more usual HŠTAT, i.e., with an additional Y, which is phonetically justifiable but infrequently utilised. Walker and all others since him have misread this date as a defective SHŠTAT for 83, thus positing a coinage in the name of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in 83, after he defeated ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad. In fact, no drachms are known of al-Ḥajjāj from any mint in Fārs dated after 81; his only later coins are the extremely rare YE 71 (began 27 Rabīʿ II 83) drachms of Jayy in the Jibāl. The only known year 83 coins of Fārs is the BYŠ issue in the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, on which the date is written in full, SWHYŠTAT, still with the extra Y in HYŠTAT. Many other examples of unusually written dates could be cited.

Finally, Pahlavi numerals are occasionally used instead of numbers in words, at Baṣra and Kūfa on a few coins dated 74, 75 or 79, and at three mints in Fārs (Bīshāpūr, Ardashīr Khurra and Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād) in 73; the latter is a hybrid, consisting of the numeral for '3' followed by the word HFTAT for 70. There is also an issue of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid struck at ART and TART in 74 with a similarly arranged hybrid, the numeral '4' followed by HFTAT for 70. A full list of the Pahlavi numerals can be found in Mackenzie's dictionary (1971), though the forms used on coins differ slightly from the scribal forms illustrated there.

As noted above, dates are often carelessly engraved, on genuine coins as well as on imitations and forgeries, thus very easily misconstrued. Accurate reading of the dates requires considerable experience; for that reason I have, for example, disregarded all unillustrated listings in auction catalogues and dealer lists, including my own.

Date conversion chart

The following table gives the starting date of each Yazdigerd year in both the Julian and Hijrī calendars. I have followed the chronology presented by Paruck, based in turn largely on the work of Drouin, which I have not consulted.[309] In the most recent treatment of the subject, Bickerman takes a more cautious approach, but accepts Paruck's chronology for the reign of Yazdigerd III.[310] According to that chronology, year one of Yazdigerd corresponds to the Zoroastrian year that commenced on 16 June 632 of the Julian calendar (= 12 Rabīʿ I 11). Because the Zoroastrian calendar does not account for the effects of leap year, it precesses at the approximate rate of 24 days per century, or about one day every four years. Thus YE 5 should have begun on 15 June 636, YE 9 on 14 June 640, and so forth. The following chart gives the equivalences for YE 20-73, with a theoretical margin of error of ±1 day.

YE 20	12 June 651	16 Shawwāl 30
YE 21	11 June 652	27 Shawwāl 31
YE 22	11 June 653	9 Dhū al-Qaʿda 32
YE 23	11 June 654	19 Dhū al-Qaʿda 33
YE 24	11 June 655	30 Dhū al-Qaʿda 34
YE 25	10 June 656	11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 35
YE 26	10 June 657	21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 36
YE 27	10 June 658	2 Muḥarram 38
YE 28	10 June 659	13 Muḥarram 39
YE 29	9 June 660	24 Muḥarram 40

(307) Walker B.10, WH 41 of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, discussed in the section on that governor. On this coin, the initial letters are clearly YA and not SY, as the first tooth is curved, the second and third straight.

(308) The sole correctly published example of KRMAN 71 was published by Shams-Eshragh (1990, p. 91, no. 122), who correctly deciphered the date as YHFTAT. Interestingly, the AYWHFTAT coin of Muṣʿab (*idem*, no. 123) is illustrated adjacent to ʿAṭīya's coin. Two additional mints of ʿAṭīya dated 71 are in the Warden-Album collection, KRMAN-BN and KRMAN-NAR, both dated 71 in the short form.

(309) Paruck 1924, pp. 121-122.

(310) Bickerman 1983, pp .778 ff.

YE 30	9 June 661	4 Ṣafar 41
YE 31	9 June 662	15 Ṣafar 42
YE 32	9 June 663	26 Ṣafar 43
YE 33	8 June 664	7 Rabīᶜ I 44
YE 34	8 June 665	18 Rabīᶜ I 45
YE 35	8 June 666	29 Rabīᶜ I 46
YE 36	8 June 667	9 Rabīᶜ II 47
YE 37	7 June 668	20 Rabīᶜ II 48
YE 38	7 June 669	1 Jumādā I 49
YE 39	7 June 670	12 Jumādā I 50
YE 40	7 June 671	23 Jumādā I 51
YE 41	6 June 672	3 Jumādā II 52
YE 42	6 June 673	14 Jumādā II 53
YE 43	6 June 674	25 Jumādā II 54
YE 44	6 June 675	6 Rajab 55
YE 45	5 June 676	17 Rajab 56
YE 46	5 June 677	27 Rajab 57
YE 47	5 June 678	8 Shaᶜbān 58
YE 48	5 June 679	19 Shaᶜbān 59
YE 49	4 June 680	29 Shaᶜbān 60
YE 50	4 June 681	11 Ramaḍān 61
YE 51	4 June 682	22 Ramaḍān 62
YE 52	4 June 683	2 Shawwāl 63
YE 53	3 June 684	13 Shawwāl 64
YE 54	3 June 685	24 Shawwāl 65
YE 55	3 June 686	5 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 66
YE 56	3 June 687	16 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 67
YE 57	2 June 688	26 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 68
YE 58	2 June 689	7 Dhū al-Ḥijja 69
YE 59	2 June 690	18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 70
YE 60	2 June 691	28 Dhū al-Ḥijja 71
YE 61	1 June 692	10 Muḥarram 73
YE 62	1 June 693	20 Muḥarram 74
YE 63	1 June 694	1 Ṣafar 75
YE 64	1 June 695	12 Ṣafar 76
YE 65	31 May 696	22 Ṣafar 77
YE 66	31 May 697	4 Rabīᶜ I 78
YE 67	31 May 698	14 Rabīᶜ I 79
YE 68	31 May 699	25 Rabīᶜ I 80
YE 69	30 May 700	6 Rabīᶜ II 81
YE 70	30 May 701	16 Rabīᶜ II 82
YE 71	30 May 702	27 Rabīᶜ II 83
YE 72	30 May 703	9 Jumādā I 84
YE 73	29 May 704	19 Jumādā I 85

The *lillāh* series

One of the most curious groups of Arab-Sasanian drachms are those that bear the phrase لله (*lillāh*, "for God") in ObQ2 in place of بسم الله (*bism allāh*, "in the name of God"). Although the present population of this type numbers perhaps 200 specimens, the type was only first recognised by al-ᶜUsh in 1972,[311] though a specimen had been published by Thomas in 1850, accepted by Mordtmann, but subsequently rejected by Walker as just a common Khusraw II with APD in ObQ2.[312] About a dozen specimens were included in Mochiri's 1986 publication, and perhaps two dozen more have appeared in sales and auction catalogues since the 1980s; unpublished collections include Warden-Album, with 28 pieces, and Malek, with 15 examples. About 35 different mint/date combinations are known from thirteen different mints, about equally divided between the Kūfan and Baṣran prefectures, dated between 23 and 39 (plus the frozen date SK 20).[313] Thus this series was dated almost identically to the *bism allāh* series, which, with the exception of later series such as the *bism allāh rabbī* issue of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, were struck from 20 to 39. The principal difference is that for the years 35, 37, 39 (the only post-31 dates known for the *lillāh* type), issues continued to be struck in Fārs at three mints, ART, BYŠ, and especially DA.

It seems tempting to regard the *lillāh* and *bism allāh* types as contemporary issues struck at the same mints and dates, much like the lifetime drachms of Khusraw II struck between years 11 and 39, one group with no inscription in the obverse margin, one with APD in ObQ2. Although I believe that this was indeed the case, a great deal of research must be undertaken to determine whether the mints and dates of the *lillāh* coins are authentic and whether the dates follow the Yazdigerd era, as on the *bism allāh* type. Discouragingly few specimens of both the *lillāh* and *bism allāh* series have hitherto been published. A thorough analysis of the *lillāh* coinage will require access to large quantities of coins from both series. Until these are properly published or made readily accessible on a website, such an analysis cannot be undertaken.

In this section, I can only attempt to outline preliminary suggestions that I believe to be likely, but still unproven. I am strongly inclined to accept that both the mints and dates are authentic, and that the dates are, with perhaps a few rare exceptions, in the Yazdigerd era. I shall first discuss the mints, then the dates.

As for the mints, there is one shred of evidence that strongly indicates that the mints are indeed authentic, namely the DA 30 *lillāh* and *bism allāh* drachms. The year 30 *bism allāh* types of both DA and DP all share an unusual feature, triplets of pellets flanking the bottom star-and-crescent in

(311) al-ᶜUsh 1972, pp. 158 and 162 (on the latter page, catalogue numbers 6 and 7, of DA 30 and DA 37, respectively). In my own experience as collector and dealer I have handled at least 50 specimens, perhaps as many as 60 or 70. Very few have been published thus far, probably fewer than 20 with illustrations.

(312) Walker 1941, p. 18, no. T.5.

(313) The following mints and dates are known from Walker, the Warden-Album and Malek collections, Paris, the ANS and the present catalogue (those followed by * have APD together with *lillāh* in ObQ2):

AHM 27, 35, 37

ART 25, 30, 31, 35, 37

AW 23, 35, 37

BYŠ 37

DA 25, 26*, 30, 35, 37, 39

GD 30, 35, 37

GW 23, 35, 37

NY 25, 30, 35, 37

PR 29

RYW 25

SK 20* (frozen date)

WH 35

WYH 23 35

the obverse margin.[314] It does not occur on any other known issue of YE 20-39 *bism allāh* series, including all known dates of DA and DP other than YE 30. However, after YE 30, the last year of the *bism allāh* type at Dārābjird, the triplets remained a standard element on virtually all subsequent Arab-Sasanian issues of the Dārābjird district mints. Within the *lillāh* series, the triplets are found at no other mints and on none of the other known dates of DA, namely 25-26 and 35-39 (DP is not known as a *lillāh* mint).

There are two important variations between the DA types of the two series. The year 30 *bism allāh* types (including both DA and DP) always have triplets alongside the star-and-crescent and always have the basic triplet breast ornament (B0). On the *lillāh* coins, there may be a single pellet on either side, a single pellet left and a triplet right, or triplets on either side.[315] The breast ornament consists of just two pellets, arranged vertically, apparently unreported on any other Arab-Sasanian issue. Despite these variations it seems likely that both types could only have been produced at Dārābjird, especially because, as I will shortly explain, there is strong evidence that at least some of the dies for the two types were manufactured at approximately the same time and perhaps by the same engraver.

Nonetheless, four different suggestions for the dating of the *lillāh* series have been put forward, though only the fourth has yet been published. These are (1) actual dates of Khusraw II, (2) Hijrī dates, (3) YE dates and (4) PYE dates. Mochiri interpreted the dates as PYE years and attributed the entire series to the Khārijites, thus to approximately the years AH 54-71.[316] There are several reasons why this dating is untenable. More than half the known *lillāh* mints are not known to have struck coins after the year AH 52 issue in the name of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān or after the last year of the Khusraw issue for mints located within the Kūfan prefecture (= AH 50). Secondly, they are stylistically very different from ordinary coins of similar years, whether Yazdigerd, as at DA, or Hijrī, as at other mints in operation AH 54-71. Thirdly, and most cogently, the form of the *hā* in *lillāh* is characteristic of the style almost completely abandoned by about AH 50. The earlier form of the Arabic letter *hā* is almost identical to the Pahlavi P, with the right stroke ascending upright at an approximately 30-45 degree angle towards the right, whereas on later coins the right stroke rises directly upwards or very slightly towards the right.[317] On the Arab-Sasanian drachms, the second form gradually replaces the first form during the second phase (AH 41-50). By the AH 60s, the first form is rarely used, though it can be found occasionally on later drachms, as well as on a few post-reform Umayyad dirhams and fulūs.

There are several reasons why these coins cannot have been actual issues of Khusraw II. First of all, the pair of triplets used on the *lillāh* type of DA 30 are not found on any known drachm of Khusraw II (there are a few rare coins, mainly from the first decade of his reign, that bear a single triplet somewhere in the obverse or reverse margin). Secondly, the style of the *lillāh* coins is altogether different from that of Khusraw II, in epigraphy, imagery and ornamentation; the style is sometimes reasonably similar to that of the *bism allāh* series, especially on the DA 30 coins and on many of the year 23-29 issues. Thirdly, although the word *lillāh* is vaguely similar to Pahlavi AP, there are significant differences. There are three initial teeth to *lillāh*, whereas the AP or APD on the coins of Khusraw II has only two initial teeth. Secondly, on most specimens the first two teeth of *lillāh* are much taller than the Pahlavi A, thus far more like two examples of the Arabic *lām*. Finally, if indeed the word in ObQ2 was Arabic *lillāh*, it seems utterly incredible that the Sasanians could have placed an Arabic word on some of their drachms.[318]

Could the *lillāh* coins be dated in the Hijrī calendar and thus the earliest of all the Arab-Sasanian coinage? Certainly, the form of *hā* in *lillāh* is remarkably primitive, as noted above, but because it is also identical to the *hā* of *bism allāh*, the form cannot be used as evidence for an earlier date. There are several other factors that weigh against Hijrī dating, in particular the Dārābjird specimens. If indeed the year 30 *lillāh* coins were AH 30, which began late in YE 19, it seems implausible that the triplets would have appeared on these two issues, eleven years apart, but not on the intermediate types, the YE 26-29 *bism allāh* coins and what would be interpreted as Hijrī 35-39 *lillāh* pieces were this the case. Moreover, the DA 25-26 coins cannot be dated in the Hijrī era, as the city was not taken until about AH 28 or 29, just before the conquest of Kirmān (all the other *lillāh* coins bear dates that could be historically valid in either calendar).

Further evidence against a Hijrī dating is that the *lillāh* type are stylistically parallel to the *bism allāh* types. While examining the Malek collection, I observed a pair of double-triplet DA 30 types of the two series for which the reverse dies were almost certainly fabricated by the same die-engraver.[319] In particular, the star and crescent flanking the fire are peculiarly shaped on both pieces: the star bears an unusually lengthy bottom ray and the crescent is tilted

(314) Walker 1941, p. 10, nos. 14, ETN.3, 15 and ETN.4.

(315) al-ʿUsh 1972, p. 162, no. 6; Peus auction 361 (3 November 1999), lot 751, and Shamma no. 7618 and 7632, respectively. Earlier coins of DA, both *lillāh* types and *bism allāh* types, always bear an unadorned bottom star-and-crescent (years 25 and 26 for *lillāh*, 26, 28 and 29 for *bism allāh*), as do all later *lillāh* dates (35, 37 and 39) (specimens of each in the Warden-Album collection). There are no later *bism allāh* Khusraw coins of the DA complex save the rare issue bearing the frozen year 43 (Walker 1941, p. 17, no. I.9); it is not illustrated and I do not know whether it bears just *bism allāh* or *bism allāh rabbī* in the margin, although the DP 43 coin in the Malek collection bears only *bism allāh*. In any case, both DeShazo and I regard it as contemporary with the *bism allāh rabbī* series of AH 47-50 (DeShazo, personal communication; Album 1998, p. 14, no. 20).

(316) Mochiri 1986, pp. 42-43. He only knew of dates 25-35 and thus proposed a shorter period of issuance.

(317) For a pair of clear examples, see cat. 111 (BYŠ of uncertain year 30) for the first type, cat. 112 (BYŠ 44) for the second type.

(318) It might also be argued that Khusraw II would not have permitted a third issue simultaneously with the plain margin and APD series. But if Khusraw had already allowed the unprecedented production of a second series, why not a third? Fortunately, the epigraphic and stylistic differences are adequate evidence that the coins must be later.

(319) According to the photo numbers maintained at the British Museum, these are AS-410 (*lillāh*) and AS-409 (*bism allāh*).

slightly to the left, with the left upward line noticeably longer than the right line. Although there are some minor variations between the two dies, they are overall so similar that it seems improbable that they were cut by different individuals, or by the same engraver at very different times. I also found a pair of *lillāh* and *bism allāh* coins of GD 37 with strong stylistic resemblance, thus probably struck more or less simultaneously, even if the dies were not produced by the same individual.[320] While these two examples are helpful, until a thorough study of the *lillāh* and *bism allāh* coinage has been completed, this evidence for a contemporary dating between the *lillāh* and *bism allāh* series can only be regarded as conjectural.

It is conceivable that some of the year 35 and 37 *lillāh* coins are Hijrī rather than Yazdigerd years, like some of the *bism allāh* drachms dated 33 and 35 from mints in Fārs province. However, my experience is that the *hā* of *lillāh* is more frequently of the second rather the first type on year 35 and 37 *lillāh* pieces that I have examined; thus the dates should be later, Yazdigerd rather than Hijrī dates. Until larger numbers of coins are examined, it will not be possible to ascertain definitively whether a substantially larger proportion of early *lillāh* drachms (23-29) use the first *hā* than is the case for later issues (37-39).

My suspicion is that even if a small number of the *lillāh* drachms may prove to be dated in the Hijrī calendar, I am confident that the great majority are dated in the Yazdigerd era. A full inquiry, as already noted, will be a lengthy investigation, not a task that I can undertake for this introduction.

If the Yazdigerd era is indeed correct, as I believe, then how can one explain the simultaneous production of two distinct types of Arab-Sasanian drachms? There are two questions worth asking. First, how were the two different types employed? Second, where and by what methods were they produced?

In order to answer the first question, it is worth considering whether there might have been a distinction between coins produced "for God" and "in the name of God". One theory is that the two issues were intended to serve different financial roles. My impression is that the "for God" drachms could have been delivered to the Muslim religious authorities, whereas the "in the name of God" coins were used for general financial requirements. In other words, the "for God" coins may have been produced for the purpose of paying alms, just as a percentage of one's income was theoretically intended. This is merely a suggestion, and further research is needed, far beyond my own capability. Alternatively, the two series might have adopted the different functions of the plain margin and the APD drachms of Khusraw II, though, as already noted, the distinction between these functions remains a mystery. There is evidence that the APD coins of Khusraw II might have provided the inspiration to produce the two simultaneous issues. This evidence consists of two drachms that bear APD before *lillāh* within ObQ2, one of DA 26, the other of SK with frozen year 20.[321] These coins suggest that the mint officials responsible for the *lillāh* types might have added APD in order to clarify the distinction between the *lillāh* and the *bism allāh* coins.

The second question could be rephrased as follows: were the two series struck at the same mints, under the same authority and by the same personnel? Once again, I have not been able to examine sufficient quantities of the two types to offer a convincing interpretation. As mentioned already, I have examined a few coins, such as the DA 30 and GD 37 drachms, that seem to have been produced simultaneously, possibly even at the same mints or from dies chiselled by the same engraver. But such similarities seem to be relatively uncommon, whence it would appear that the two series were generally produced separately, either at two distinct workshops within a single mint, or at two independent mints within the same city. Perhaps one workshop produced *lillāh* coins intended for direct distribution to the Arab rulers or the military, whereas the second workshop struck coins for the indigenous Iranian administration, which we know was largely retained in Iran until close to or during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik (AH 65-86). The second group would in any case have been used for general payments, presumably including taxation to the centre, whether in Iraq or Syria. I should emphasise that this suggestion is highly conjectural; I have not had time to consult the numerous Arabic historical and religious texts that might provide key information. One can only hope that future research, as suggested in this section, might eventually made it feasible to understand the *lillāh* series, its chronology and its purpose.

Countermarks

Countermarks are found on a relatively large number of Arab-Sasanian drachms, especially those struck at eastern mints. Walker was the first to study the marks systematically; in his 1941 catalogue he presented a chart of 54 variations.[322] In 1967 Göbl recategorised many of Walker's countermarks as part of an extensive study of countermarks found not only on Arab-Sasanian coins but also on Sasanian, Ephthalite and related coins. His detailed discussion of the various marks, their host coins and their position on coins ("Anbringungsort") constitutes a major advance and a firm basis for further study.[323] Gaube, writing just six years later, generally followed Göbl, as little new material had become available to him. However, he suggested that the marks on Arab-Sasanian coins fell into three geographical groups, a poorly known western group, a more plentiful middle group (associated largely with coins of Kirmān and Sīstān), and a Khurāsānian group, which he estimated to comprise 80% of all countermarked drachms.[324] No comprehensive study of the countermarks has been undertaken since then. In the following paragraphs, only a brief general description of the countermarks and their function is presented.

(320) Malek collection, AS-421 (*bism allāh*) and AS-420 (*lillāh*).

(321) For DA 26, Mochiri 1986, p. 98, no. 83; for SK 20, Warden-Album collection.

(322) Walker 1941, pp. cxlii-cxlvi; the chart is on p. cxlv.

(323) Göbl 1967, v.2, pp. 112-202 (especially pp. 163-202, devoted to marks appearing on Arab-Sasanian and late Sasanian coins) and v.4, Tafel 8-9.

(324) Gaube 1973, pp. 109-118.

Walker had already noted that the countermarks are found only on the obverse but are never stamped over the royal effigy. They are generally placed in one of the four obverse quadrants, though occasionally they appear over one of the star-and-crescent ornaments that separate the quadrants of the margin. As Göbl determined, certain countermarks are found predominantly in one of the quadrants, usually the first or fourth, whereas others appear randomly throughout the margin. While the reverse is never countermarked, one frequently finds a large scrape or gouge in the reverse margin, presumably used to test whether the coin was silver all the way through or just a silver-coated copper core (*subaeratum* or *fourré*). The gouging is significant, for it suggests that substantial numbers of subaerata coins were in circulation. Many coins bear more than one mark; as many as five, or perhaps six, have been observed on a single drachm. Moreover, certain groups of marks tend to occur together, suggesting some sort of common origin for marks within such a group.

The countermarks consist of animals, both real and mythical, human portraits, inscriptions in Arabic, Pahlavi, Bactrian and Sogdian, tamgas and miscellaneous symbols. These have been well catalogued by Göbl and Gaube, as noted above, and need not be discussed in detail here. However, it should be noted that perhaps a dozen or more additional countermarks have been discovered since 1973, including one I have called X1 on coin cat. 336.

Precise dating of the various countermarks is probably not possible at the present time, though some progress should be possible after further study of the many hundreds of countermarked Arab-Sasanian coins that have surfaced in the 34 years since Göbl wrote. However, one can now state with certainty that the bulk of the countermarks were applied from the mid 60s to the late 70s AH, thus between the mid 680s and late 690s AD, above all in eastern Khurāsān. Of the 17 marks enumerated by Göbl with five or more attestations, only two seem to be earlier (nos. 10 and 11). In fact, nos. 10 and 11 are but variants of one and the same, the forepart of what is traditionally referred to as a *senmurv* with isolated symbols in the field of the countermark.[325] For this countermark, the latest attested date of a host coin is AH 56 on a coin of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād struck at Sīstān. This was a frozen date, used from AH 56 to perhaps as late as the early 60s. However, as all other coins with these marks are dated 54 or earlier, it is probable that this particular SK 56 coin was an early emission of the type, perhaps struck in AH 56 itself.[326]

The latest host coins bearing any type of countermark attested by Göbl and Gaube are dated YE 64 (began 12 Ṣafar 76) and were struck by Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh at Khurāsān (HWRASAN) and Marw al-Rūdh.[327] The only later drachm known to me is one of BBA 77 in the name of the same governor Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh in the Warden-Album collection, though I have not searched the literature thoroughly for further examples. All three writers cited above believed that no post-reform dirhams were known with countermarks. This is no longer the case: at least five pieces are known; (1) Wāsiṭ 89 with a variant of cmk no. 3; (2) Wāsiṭ 93 with cmk no. 23; (3) Sābūr 95 with cmks no. 23 and what is probably a variant of no. 21; (4) Wāsiṭ 97 with cmk no. 3; (5) Jundī Sābūr 97 with cmk no. 3.[328] These coins confirm that types 23 and 3 were in use at least as late as AH 95 and 97, respectively, thus nearly two decades later than nearly all other marks.

Despite the small number of countermarked post-reform dirhams, present evidence still suggests that save for a very limited number of marks, all countermarking must have taken place over about a ten-year interval from the mid- or late 60s until the mid-70s. As already noted, only one major type (cmks 10 and 11) can with any certainty be dated earlier, though some of the infrequently attested types may be earlier than the mid-60s. Very few are later, given the great rarity of host coins dated after AH 75; at present, only nos. 3, 23 and a variant of 21 are confirmed on post-reform coins, and no marks are currently recorded on Arab-Sasanian drachms dated after AH 77.[329]

Geographically, the principal groups are what I would describe as (1) a southeastern group centred on Sīstān and its eastern neighbours Arachosia (al-Rukhaj) and Zābulistān; (2) a southwestern group centred in Kirmān province; and (3) the northern or Khurāsānian group, by far the largest group of all, centred for the most part in the eastern marches of that province, especially Jūzjān. Both Göbl and Gaube have suggested probable locations for many of the countermarks, though some of their suggestions will undoubtedly need to be emended in light of subsequent discoveries. Nonetheless, their studies represent an important step forward and a good starting point for further research. What seems indisputable at this time, however, is that the most prodigious use of countermarking took place in eastern Khurāsān from about 685 to 695 and was connected to the struggles between the Muslims and their eastern non-Muslim neighbors, such as the Ephthalites.

(325) Aleksandr Nymark has informed me that the Sogdian inscription occasionally found alongside the "senmarv" suggests that the creature is actually the *furn*, a Central Asian dynastic symbol.

(326) Göbl notes two "later" coins with countermark no. 11. The first is a drachm of ʿUbayd Allāh struck at Bīshāpūr and clearly dated 51, which Walker regarded as a Yazdigerd year (Cam.3 on p. 55). I would rather regard that coin as a muling of an Iṣṭakhr obverse of ʿUbayd Allāh (cf. Walker 106 on p. 71, and note the similarity of the *mīm* of *bism* on both) with an old Ziyād reverse of Bīshāpūr 51. The second is a drachm of SK 37 with name legend AWSRWY and *bism allāh rabbī* in the margin, which Sears has shown to be contemporary with the AH 48 coins of the same type, which were struck from AH 48 until as late as 56, when the ʿUbayd Allāh type was introduced in Sīstān. Göbl mistakenly interpreted the date as a PYE year (=AH 68/69) rather than a YE date (AH 48/49), which remains unattested in Sīstān.

(327) Göbl 1967, v.2, p. 192.

(328) The first two are in Tübingen, nos. AB9 F3 and 92-2-2, respectively. The third was published in Emirates Coin Auction No. 2, 28 March 2000, lot 125. The fourth is Shamma no. 851. The last is in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 16790, cited in Sears 1996a, p. 38, note 105. I have seen several additional examples in the trade during the past 20-odd years. I would not be surprised if two dozen or more are currently known, though I would doubt that any specimens are dated much later than 97.

(329) However, it should be remembered that types 3 and 23 are also known on drachms dated no later than AH 75. Thus either these two countermarks were in use for more than twenty years, or drachms dated AH 75 or earlier were still in circulation in the mid to late AH 90s in whatever region these two countermarks were employed.

Although it has been possible to determine the approximate dating and geography of the numerous Khurāsānian countermarks, neither their function nor their issuers can be ascertained at present. Countermarking was normally a means of raising funds, a kind of taxation applied to the owners of money, especially in times of financial turmoil. This may well have been the situation in Khurāsān during the 680s and early 690s, due to the extensive warfare between the Ephthalites and the Muslims and between the Umayyad allies and the Zubayrids. Although we know nothing about how these countermarked coins were used, it seems likely that they were accepted at a higher value than uncountermarked examples, presumably at a surcharge more or less equivalent to the fee charged for the countermark. Given the substantial variety of images and languages used in the marks, there must have been numerous producers, both Muslim and non-Muslim, each with their own type or types. Many of these ideas have already been discussed by Göbl and Gaube.[330]

The most important information needed to determine where countermarks were applied and where countermarked coins circulated is the location of hoards and isolated coins. Unfortunately, nowadays the provenance of coin finds in countries such as Iran and Afghanistan is no longer made public. Sadly, this is largely the result of the post-1972 UNESCO regulations, that have all but prohibited the preservation of privately discovered hoards and the publication of their find spots. The disturbing result is that in most of the world, the preservation of find information essential for further research is effectively outlawed.

Dies and die production

The subject of dies and their production presents three basic avenues of inquiry. Where were dies produced and how were they distributed? How can one die be distinguished from another? How many were made and what was the order of magnitude of the coinage struck from them?

During the later Sasanian period, from the time of Khusraw I to the early years of Yazdigerd III, it is probable that a central die workshop supplied nearly all the mints, with the notable exception of Sīstān, whose dies must have been locally sourced to judge by their aberrant style. For example, the remarkable stylistic uniformity between the mints of Khusraw II (except Sīstān and the camp mint BBA) clearly points towards a centralised die workshop, perhaps in the vicinity of the capital. Thousands of dies would have been needed annually, an order of magnitude confirmed by the rarity of die matches among surviving coins of the reign.[331] For the Arab-Sasanian coinage, it is obvious from stylistic observation that, with few expections, there was no single centre of die production. The only clear exception is during the second part of the first phase, i.e., circa YE 25-31, when nearly all mints seem to have employed stylistically similar dies (once again, except for Sīstān and probably also the mints of Kirmān province), as well as the later years of the second phase, i.e., circa YE 35-39 (= AH 46-50). During the third phase, AH 50-85, there were clearly multiple centres of die production. Several different groups of stylistically related mints can be readily identified, and it would seem logical that each of these mints received their dies from a different workshop. Amongst the clearly definable groups are (1) Sīstān; (2) the cluster of Kirmān provincial mints; (3) Khurāsān; (4) the Dārābjird complex; (5) western Fārs (perhaps together with southern Iraq at times); (6) southern Iraq; (7) central Iraq; and (8) the Jibāl. A few small mints, such as Iṣṭakhr, may have had their own suppliers within a larger province. It would seem likely that each of the regions received their dies from one workshop (or in rare cases, such as Khurāsān during the AH 60s and 70s, perhaps from more than one workshop).

A die workshop could either have been situated at a fixed location or could have travelled from mint to mint within the region it served. Certainly in the case of a massive coinage such as that of Khusraw II, a peripatetic facility would have been impractical; moreover, the safety of the imperial roads during his reign was probably sufficient to allay fears that dies might be stolen in transit. This is less clear under the early Muslims, when security was undoubtedly a constant problem, to judge by the frequency of political turmoil within Iran. If no more than a couple of hundred dies were needed each year within a relatively small area of mints, it would certainly be physically possible for an engraver and a couple of assistants to travel from one city to another. Their equipment would scarcely constitute a single assload, and metal for the dies, most likely bronze, could probably be obtained locally.[332]

The modern numismatist is always interested in knowing how many dies were used for a given coinage, in order to form at least a relative estimate of its magnitude. Thus the numismatist is frequently obliged to count the number of obverse and reverse dies for a given issue. Fortunately, Arab-Sasanian dies can be easily distinguished, using a variety of diagnostic features. For the obverses, good diagnostic elements include the relative positioning of the marginal legend, the placement of the crown ornaments, the array of pellets forming the beard, the relative position of the upper and lower lines of the name legend, and the composition of the hairball. For the reverse, useful features are the positioning of the attendants' arms, the form and spacing of the date, the shape and direction of the attendants' fillets, the altar ribbons and the shape of the altar base. In my own experience, it is never difficult to ascertain die matches, except on severely worn or badly damaged specimens.

(330) Göbl 1967, v.2, pp. 112-202; Gaube 1973, pp. 109-118.

(331) Kolesnikov (1998, p. 246) suggests that annual drachm production during the latter half of Khusraw II's reign was on the order of 150,000,000 pieces, a figure which seems incredibly high. But even if the true annual average were just one tenth of that amount, and assuming an average die life of 10,000 coins, then a minimum of 1500 obverse and a like number of reverse dies would have been needed each year, probably along with several hundreds more that disintegrated at an early stage. Of course, the idea of a die life of 10,000 is purely conjectural: the actual average could have been much lower or much higher, depending on the mint methods in use.

(332) The experience of modern "medieval" moneyers in Britain suggests that a complete Sasanian or Arab-Sasanian die could be engraved in at most a few hours. Thus a single skilled engraver should have been able to produce 300 or more dies per year, considerably more with one or more assistants or apprentices.

To date, the only Arab-Sasanian coins which have been examined for die-links are the later Sīstān drachms, for most of which, despite their relative rarity, large numbers of dies are attested.[333] For the present catalogue, I have made the effort to find die-links within each mint/date combination (with the exception of the Ṭabaristān hemidrachms), but not between coins of different dates; nor have I examined coins published elsewhere. Much to my astonishment, very few die-links were found. No links were found among 11 specimens of Baṣra 60 or among 10 specimens of Baṣra 61. Even the relatively "rare" issue of Bīshāpūr 47 with *bism allāh al-mālik* in the obverse margin revealed no links between five specimens. The issue of Bīshāpūr 70 of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh revealed 13 obverse and 15 reverse dies for 16 specimens. These findings imply that many dozens, if not many hundreds, of specimens of a single issue will have to be investigated before total die numbers for a given issue can be estimated to within a meaningful range of probability. They also imply that for the most common issues the number of obverse or reverse dies per issue must have been many dozens, or in some cases, several hundreds. From this one may extrapolate that for the most prolific mints annual coin production must have been in the hundreds of thousands, perhaps on some occasions attaining a million pieces or more.

Unofficial strikes, imitations and forgeries

Numismatists and historians are understandably loath to accept that the information inscribed upon a coin is sometimes inauthentic. Unfortunately, there is no absolute guarantee that a coin which purports to be the product of a given mint at a given time was indeed struck at that mint at that time. As already mentioned, some coins are unofficial issues (often from purloined dies), imitations, forgeries new and old, jewellery items, etc. It is the often toilsome task of the numismatist to sort out the authentic products from the inauthentic. Given all the complications of the Arab-Sasanian coinage, it is disheartening to add the problem of contemporary imitations to the thicket of obstacles, but the problem is real and has often led to serious misconceptions, as has several times been noted in the foregoing. I have already noted the year 26 coins that were presumably struck from purloined but authentic dies, coins which led Walker, Gaube and others to mistakenly assume that Salm b. Ziyād was active in the west as well as in Khurāsān and Sīstān. Irregular issues of this sort are especially misleading, as the dies are real, though typically the obverse and reverse dies are mismatched.

More often imitations were struck with purpose-made dies that deviate to a lesser or greater degree from the prototype. A lovely example is to be found amongst the coins of Jayy 60 in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh b Ziyād. Compare, for example, lots 5474 and 5475 in the 29 April 2000 Peus auction, and the difference is immediately perceptible. The former is similar to normal coins of years 60-63, but the latter resembles some strange light-weight coins of Marw, Sīstān and other eastern mints that are themselves almost certainly imitations, struck to a standard of about 3.2-3.5g. Fortunately the cataloguer described the latter coin correctly as a contemporary eastern imitation.

No systematic attempt has ever been made to determine which Arab-Sasanian coins are imitations or irregular issues of one sort or another. The publication of more sylloges, more well-illustrated sale catalogues, and more well-constructed website catalogues would surely facilitate this task. Unfortunately, speculative works such as Mochiri 1986 are helpful only insofar as they illustrate large numbers of irregular coins that have not been published or illustrated elsewhere.

Forgeries constitute another source of complication. There are two sorts of forgeries, contemporary forgeries intended to fool users of the coins at the time when they were in circulation and modern forgeries meant to fool the present-day collector. Fortunately, there seem to be no known examples of the latter type, except for the silly gold forgeries of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf noted above, as well as occasional roughly cast silver fakes, presumably intended as jewellery or tourist souvenirs. Contemporary forgeries are more common, and can usually be distinguished by their inferior metal, weight or style. Most contemporary forgeries were struck from forgers' dies readily distinguished from the official products by inferior style and epigraphy. However, skilful forgers were often capable of closely imitating official issues, though the dies they carved were never quite identical to those of official engravers. Thus the information on many contemporary forgeries may be authentic, even though the coins themselves are not. However, such forgeries often combined obverse and reverse types that were never officially intended to be used together.

Some forgeries were in fact produced from official dies, possibly in official mints, but on silver-plated copper planchets (*subaerata* or *fourrés*), a dubious source of gain for scurrilous mintmasters. In fact, these may not have been forgeries in the usual sense at all, but rather officially sanctioned issues which were struck for the purpose of financial gain. The same phenomenon is well-known in Roman Republican and Imperial coinage; in fact, the ruins of a workshop for subaerata Roman denarii of the 2nd-3rd century was excavated in the Roman city of Augusta Raurica (now Augst in Switzerland).[334]

Appendix I: WYHC

It is not my intention here to review the lengthy literature on the identification of WYHC, but rather to summarise the current state of research and suggest a few ideas of my own. Two important facts can be accepted as certain. Firstly, Mochiri has clearly demonstrated that the mint AS, which he identified as Aspānvar, one of the districts of Ktesiphon, was one of the most prolific Sasanian mints from the time of Varahran IV (388-399) through the 22nd year of Khusraw I, thus until AD 553, after which it ceased

(333) Sears 1996a, *passim*.

(334) For the Augst site, see Markus Peter, *Eine Werkstätte zur Herstellung von subaeraten Denaren in Augusta Raurica* (=Studien zu Fündmünzen der Antike, band 7), Berlin, 1990. For the Roman Republican issues, see Cathy King, "Roman copies", *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World* (=SFMA, band 10), Berlin, 1996, especially pages 238-239. I thank Chris Howgego for helping me find these references and saving me a great deal of time.

operation. He then shows that beginning in the following year, the 23rd year of Khusraw I (commenced in July 553), the mint WYHC, which he read as WSP, began operation; it remained one of the most prolific mints until the reign of Khusraw V (631-632).[335] He identified WSP as Visp-Šad-Xosrow (his spelling), which was also located in a district within or very close to Ktesiphon, perhaps even a new name for Aspānvar. That the name Aspānvar could have been changed to Visp-Šad-Xosrow during the reign of Khusraw I is conceivable, though there is no literary or archaeological evidence that the two names referred to the same location. Mochiri's argument that WSP (which I read as WYHC) did indeed replace AS between the 22nd and 23rd years of Khusraw I is irrefutable. However, his specific identification of the two places seems questionable, for as we shall see, his argument rests on a highly improbable reading of the name WYHC as WSP, a conclusion I shall shortly refute.

The second fact is that the only currently known Arab-Sasanian drachms of the mint WYHC are a *bism allāh* Khusraw type coin dated YE 36, two *lillāh* drachms dated YE 23 and 35, a coin of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān dated AH 50, and a series of drachms struck in the names of three governors and dated between AH 67 and 73. There are also two anonymous copper coins of WYHC, one with standard designs similar to the drachm, dated AH 80 (or 82) and with بسم الله الحق, *bism allāh al-ḥaqq* ("in the name of God, the Truth"), in the obverse margin, the second bearing a janiform bust, almost certainly dated AH 83, with a long Qur'ānic inscription filling the obverse margin.[336]

Furthermore, on the coins dated 67 through 73, as well as the anonymous coppers, the form of the mint name is somewhat different than what appears on the AH 50 and earlier coins, being written in what Gyselen has described as lapidary rather than cursive script. The third letter is more like A than H, though the two are often quite interchangeable.

As noted above, Mochiri read the signature as WSP and associated it with a district of Ktesiphon. Kolesnikov, in a well-reasoned and quite plausible argument, regarded the name as WYH-P, which he deciphered as Veh-Kavād Pātīn, "lower Veh-Kavād", the extremely rare mint Bihqubādh al-Asfal (بهقباذ الاسفل) of the post-reform coinage, a district not far from Kūfa.[337] However, both Mochiri's and Kolesnikov's explanations rely on reading the final letter as P, which seems untenable. Gyselen and Kalus, on the other hand, regarded the final letter as C.[338] I agree with Gyselen and Kalus that the crucial final letter can only be C and not P. When connected to a previous letter, both C and P terminate in a loop that rises to the left and then curls back towards the right. The difference is that the loop of P is closed or nearly closed, the final stroke not only curling towards the right but also downwards, meeting, or nearly meeting, the line below, whereas the loop of C is open, without the turn downwards. Since neither C nor P connect to any following letter, we need only compare the combinations HP and HC, when they occur on the same coin, namely, on Sasanian coins of this mint bearing the dates 17, 27, 37 or 47, for in these numbers, the '7' is always HPT (also written HFT, as P and F are identical in Pahlavi) and never HCT.[339] One needs only to examine the seven coins of these years published by Mochiri to confirm that the termination of the mint name is always open and totally distinct from the closed or nearly closed HP of HPT.[340]

Since the final letter must therefore be C, the identifications of both Mochiri and Kolesnikov must be rejected. What might have been the location of WYHC? There are three known cities that might have employed WYHC as its abbreviation:

(1) Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād, i.e., Arrajān in western Fārs. There is no doubt that WYHC was its abbreviation, for there survives a seal impression that indisputably identifies WYHC with that mint, written out in full as WYHC AMT KWAT.[341] The name refers to the mass movement of captives from Āmid (now Diyarbakır in Turkey) to Arrajān during the third reign of Kavād I (AD 499-531).

(2) Veh-az-Andiyok-Khusraw, located just a few miles to the southeast of Ktesiphon in the Arḍ Jūkhā. It was founded by Khusraw I in 540 (about his tenth regnal year) for the resettlement of captives taken at Antioch in Syria. It was known as al-Rūmīya (الرومية) in Arabic. After the Arab conquest, the town rapidly declined in importance, though it seems to have survived until at least the early ᶜAbbāsid period.[342]

(3) Veh-az-Andiyok-Šābuhr, another location in central Iraq. However, all known occurrences of this name

(335) Mochiri 1983, pp. 223-261, profusely illustrated.

(336) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 20-29, now Gyselen 2000, nos. 48 and 49, respectively; the date on no. 48 looks more like HŠTAT for 80 than any known form of 82; no. 49 seems to be clearly dated 83 (even clearer on a specimen that appeared very recently in the market). The janiform type was published by Mochiri, who read the words HWBHTYH to the left of the bust and W PRAHWYH to the right as the names ᶜUbayd Allāh and Farrukhzād (1983, fig. 716); he also misread the date as 62. A third specimen was published by Shams-Eshragh (1990, pp. 101-102, no. 165), who sensibly made no attempt to decipher these complex inscriptions.

More recently, Gyselen has read the Arabic inscription as نصر الله الحق, which she transliterated as "naṣar llāh al-ḥaqq" (sic) and translated as "may God give the victory to the Truth" (2000, no. 48, p. 153). Her somewhat fuzzy photos do indeed seem to confirm that the initial word is more likely *naṣara* than *bism*. Both illustrated specimens are rather poorly preserved, so that any attempt to resolve the reading of this phrase will have to be based on more legible specimens.

(337) Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 31-35. However, on p. 35 he concedes that the mint was presumably shifted to Arrajān by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in the year AH 50.

(338) Gyselen and Kalus 1983, pp. 149-151; Gyselen 1989a, p. 112.

(339) When '7' appears alone, it is always represented by the Aramaic monogram ŠBA. Coins of year 7 are thus irrelevant to the present argument.

(340) Mochiri 1983, figs. 610 (Khusraw I, year 27), 620 (Khusraw I, year 37), 679-681 (Khusraw II, year 27) and 694-695 (Khusraw II, year 37). His photographs of years 47 of Khusraw I and 17 of Khusraw II are unclear, though I would be quite certain that if legible, they would reveal a similar distinction.

(341) Gyselen and Kalus 1983, p. 150. The style of the lettering of WYHC on this bulla resemble that of the 67-73 drachms, not that of the earlier coins.

(342) Morony 1982, pp. 19-20.

omit "az", thus Veh-Andiyok-Šābuhr. Since the C in WYHC derives from "az", it is unlikely that this city could have been the mint using that abbreviation.

Gyselen and Kalus insist that during both the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian period, WYHC must have been Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād, Arrajān. They reject Veh-Andiyok-Šābuhr because of the omission of "az", in which case the final letter of the mint abbreviation could not be C. More importantly, they reject Veh-az-Andiyok-Khusraw on the grounds that there allegedly exists a coin of the 17th year of Kavād I (=AD 504, give or take a year) from WYHC. The mint name on this coin could not refer to Veh-az-Andiyok Khusraw, more than 25 years before the reign of the first Khusraw, thus long before a place-name bearing the name Khusraw could have been introduced. They cite no reference for this year 17 coin and I have not been able to find such a piece in the literature available to me. Even if such an extremely rare coin does exist, it need not necessarily have been struck at the same WYHC mint that suddenly began its prolific issues in the year 23 of Khusraw I. It is certainly possible that a few rare coins were struck at perhaps Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād by Kavād in Kavād's seventeenth year, whereas those of Khusraw I's year 23 and later were from some other "veh-az" mint.

Kolesnikov rejects Arrajān on two grounds, that it was never a very important place and that the mint distribution patterns of ten published hoards favour a location in central Iraq rather than Fārs. However, both of these arguments are irrelevant. Arrajān is not known to have been a particularly important place in Būyid times (4th/10th century), yet for a short period, AH 344-367, coins of Arrajān are extremely common, more so than those of any other contemporary Būyid mint.[343] The second argument is spurious, for Arrajān was the district of Fārs closest to Iraq, bordering on Khūzistān. If silver coin tended to flow towards the capital, as is likely if its purpose was primarily the payment of taxes, one would expect a larger proportion of Arrajān coins in Iraqi and Syrian hoards than in hoards from central and eastern Fārs.

However, even if these two arguments are weak, there are three further arguments that do favour a location in central Iraq. One is the sudden change from AS to WYHC in the year 23 of Khusraw I. Even though we may not know precisely where AS was located, there is no known name in Fārs or Khūzistān that would yield AS as an abbreviation; several places have been suggested, all in either central Iraq or the Jibāl. Secondly, the form of WYHC used for the later Arab-Sasanian drachms (67-73) is markedly different from earlier issues, specifically in the orthography of the letter W. Kolesnikov suggests that the style of epigraphy was altered in order to distinguish these later issues, which he assigns to Arrajān, from the earlier ones that he places at Bihqubādh al-Asfal (Veh-Kavād Pātīn).[344] Finally, the existence of a Khusraw type drachm with *bism allāh* dated year 36 is more consistent with a Kūfan mint such as Bihqubādh al-Asfal than a Baṣran location, thus with a location in central Iraq rather than Fārs.

These arguments can be summed up as follows: (1) The mint name is clearly WYHC, not WYHP or WSP; (2) if any coins were struck at WYHC in the year 17 of Kavād, they were most likely struck at Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād, a name that had probably been assigned to Arrajān a few years earlier; (3) the coins struck from the 23rd year of Khusraw I to the time of Yazdigerd III (about AD 553-635) were struck at an undetermined location in central Iraq, possibly one of the two locations ignored by Gyselen and Kalus, of which Veh-az-Andiyok-Khusraw seems more likely than Veh-Andiyok-Šābuhr for orthographic reasons; (4) the *bism allāh* Khusraw type of year 36, the *lillāh* coins of 23 and 35 and the Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān drachm of AH 50 were probably struck at the same location in central Iraq as the AD 553-635 pieces; (5) the drachms of AH 67-73 and the coppers of 80/82 and 83 were struck at Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād/Arrajān.

Veh-az-Āmid-Kavād became Bizamqubādh (بزمقباذ) in Arabic. Umayyad dirhams were struck there in 79 and 80, then again in most years from 90 to 95; there is an isolated copper issue dated 141.[345]

To recapitulate, it seems undeniable that WYHC in fact refers to two distinct mints, a still imprecisely located mint in the general area of Ktesiphon operating from year 23 of Khusraw I until AH 50 under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (circa AD 553-670), and the mint of Arrajān, possibly during year 17 of Kavād I and certainly during the years AH 67-83. It is by no means inadmissible that the same mint name might refer to two or more separate locations. Although uncommon, multiple locations of a single mint name have been observed in numerous Islamic series, such as the mint Ma'dan discussed in SICA 9.

Appendix II: Tawwaj, Tanbūk, Dasht

The mint abbreviation TART has long bewildered numismatists. It was regarded as just another form of ART (Ardashīr Khurra) until 1973, when Gaube hesitantly identified it with Tawwaj (توج), a lowland city on the Sābūr River, just above its confluence with the Jirra and along the principal route from the Gulf coast to both Ardashīr Khurra and Bīshāpūr. The early geographers all reckoned it as part of Ardashīr Khurra district. It was an important place in early Islamic times, the location of the first *miṣr* (garrison city) in Fārs, founded about the year 21 and used as a jumping-off point for the conquest of the remainder of the province. On the coins, the mint name can be interpreted as a compound consisting of T for Tawwaj, followed by ART for the district (see the next appendix for another related mint signature, in the district of Dārābjird). Despite the fact that the orthography is perfectly clear, Mochiri tried to distort the word into TAWKW, which is clearly untenable and in any case unnecessary for the decipherment of the

(343) Treadwell 2001, pp. 1-14. Būyid coins of Arrajān are not only found nowadays in abundance but, as Treadwell has shown, the number of dies per issue is amongst the highest of any Būyid mint. Only during the years 359-363 of the 344-367 period was Shīrāz, overall the most common Būyid mint, more active than Arrajān.

(344) Kolesnikov 1998, p. 35.

(345) Miles 1959, pp. 64-65, nos. 499-502. The next known issue of the site bears the name Arrajān, a fals dated 180 or 18x (*op.cit.*, p. 52, no. 316).

signature, as the concept of a prefix to ART, like the compound GRM-KRMAN, is plausible.[346]

As far as I can determine, no seal impression is presently known for Tawwaj, nor any other indication that its official abbreviation was TART. There does exist a post-reform dirham of Tawwaj dated 82,[347] as well as a few coppers of the early ʿAbbāsid period and two or three Būyid dirhams. It operated as an Arab-Sasanian mint from AH 67-80; many of the types are not rare.

There are several other mint signatures, found only on some copper coins, that are relevant to the identity of TART, if only because some incorrect or questionable opinions have been published in regard to their identity. These are GWBR, DŠT and TNBKW. Furthermore, all coins of these three mints bear the name of Farrukhzād, sometimes with the patronymic Gushn-Anūshān, as do many silver drachms of ART and TART dated 75 and 76, as well as a very rare drachm of BYŠ dated 79 (the patronymic is never on the silver).

The first of these can be securely tied to Gūr (Arabic جور , Jūr) on account of a Magian seal impression that mentions the *maguh* of GWBR in the central field and Ardashīr Khurra in the circular legend;[348] Jūr is known as a post-reform dirham mint for the years 83 and 84 and for a few rare ʿAbbāsid coppers. Mochiri tried to read the mint as GWRG for Gurgān, but the third letter is clearly B and not R. The date is written as CHŠT, most likely intended for CHŠST, "64"; the use of ŠT for ŠST, "60", can be observed on several Arab-Sasanian coins, as had already been noted for years 62, 63, 64, 67 and 68 by Walker.[349] Given the known context for Farrukhzād, who is cited on silver drachms struck AH 75-79, the date ought to be the Yazdigerd year 64, which commenced on 12 Ṣafar 76. One curious aspect of the coin is the absence of any reference to Islam and of any Arabic inscription, unlike contemporary silver dirhams bearing the mint name Ardashīr Khurra. Perhaps the local authorities simply did not care, for the coppers were intended for local use and were presumably regulated solely at a local level.[350]

(346) Mochiri 1986, pp. 75-76.

(347) University of Tübingen 92-4-3.

(348) Frye 1973, p. 63, no. 212.

(349) Walker 1941, pp. clviii-clvix. Recently, Gyselen has revised her opinion of the date and suggested CHST for 104 instead of CHŠT (Gyselen 2000, pp. 132-134, type 16). However, the third letter seems more like š than s. Moreover, the style of the coins is more typical of the AH 70s than the AH 100s. She seems to have been distracted by a hybrid reform *pashīz* of Hamadān dated 105 that bears the name FRAWZAT (Farrukhzād) in the reverse margin (*op.cit.*, p. 134, type 17). However, there is no reason to assume that the Farrukhzād of Hamadān 105 need necessarily be the same Farrukhzād who is well attested in Fārs in the 70s; the name was a common one.

(350) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 68-72 (= Gyselen 2000, type 16); Mochiri 1983, p. 389; Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 275-276. The 22 specimens published by Gyselen range in weight from 2.07g to 4.59g, and suggest a "standard" in the range of around 3.4 grams. Kolesnikov proposed two denominations, one a third, the other a sixth of his theoretical base unit (see the discussion under metrology of copper coins). However, the range of weights clearly suggests a single standard that was only loosely adhered to.

The second mint, DŠT, was also first published by Curiel and Gyselen in 1984, on a copper coin in the name of Farrukhzād b. Gushn-Anūshān, but with the patronymic. They queried this reading, on the grounds that it would seem impossible for an *ʿāmil* (governor) with a Persian name to have been appointed over a district in southern Iraq, Dasht Maysān, well-known as an Arab-Sasanian and early Umayyad silver mint. They proposed instead to read the right-hand word as KRAT for *kirāt* (Arabic قيراط, *qīrāṭ*), suggesting that it referred to the weight standard of the coin; in this connection, they read the word to the left of the attended fire-altar as HŠT for "eight", thereby yielding the phrase "eight *kirāt*". There are several objections to this. First of all, the weights of the three specimens they published (3.79g, 3.30g, 2.90g) are all far too heavy to be the multiple of eight of any known *kirāt*, each of which would normally weigh in the range of 0.18g to 0.21g. This is corroborated by the larger group of ten specimens published by Gyselen in 2000, which weigh between 2.90g and 4.17g, suggesting a "standard" in the range of 3.5-3.6g.[351]

With the appearance of many more specimens and the adequate accompanying photos, is seems quite clear that the word to the right is DŠT and that to the left a date. As for the mint, Mochiri accepted the reading DŠT and interpreted it as a signature for Dashtistān, the name of a large region in southern Fārs. He read the date as DWŠT for 62. Although Kolesnikov also read the mint as DŠT, he associated it with several places in western Fārs that begin with the element *dasht* and are mentioned in the early Muslim geographical works, adding that Dasht Bārīn in western Ardashīr Khurra district seemed the most likely; he read the date as perhaps a truncated HŠT(AT) for "80".[352] I agree with Kolesnikov that the mint is surely one of the *dasht*-mints of western Fārs, possibly, but not necessarily, Dasht Bārīn. However, the new photos allow us to decipher the date more carefully. Whereas Mochiri regarded the date as 62 and Kolesnikov as 80, in her most recent publication, Gyselen regarded the date as a queried 104. In my opinion, none of these ideas are correct. The best suggestion comes from Gyselen's admittedly inferior illustration of no. 53.6, on which the date looks very much like CHŠT, thus identical to the date on the Gūr coin of Farrukhzād discussed above, which is clearly 64. However, the date on the very clearly illustrated 53.1 is somewhat more confusing, as there is a a symbol just before what seems quite clearly CHŠT once again. If that symbol is another Pahlavi letter, then I would be at a loss to understand just what the engraver intended to write. However, given that the symbol does not seem to be any known Pahlavi letter used on late 7th or early 8th century coinage, I would regard it as a symbol, probably as a slightly defective tiny circle. Thus like the Gūr coin, the date of this one should also be interpreted as YE 64.[353]

(351) Gyselen type 53, of which four examples are illustrated on her plate 9.

(352) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 72-74; Mochiri 1986, pp. 71-73; Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 275-279.

(353) The date is also clearly CHŠT in a newly published specimen, in Peus Auktion, 26 April 2000, no. 5588.

The only disconcerting aspect is the possibly simultaneous use of DŠT for localities in both southern Iraq and Fārs, Dasht Mīshān and something like Dasht Bārīn, respectively. Perhaps the locality in Fārs was sufficiently unimportant that the duplication of city abbreviations for local copper coins was irrelevant, despite Gyselen's sensible idea that each locality should have a unique abbreviation; but if so unimportant, why were copper coins minted there? Perhaps Dasht Maysān and our "Dasht" did indeed have different signatures. The presumed Dasht Maysān of the silver coins, struck from AH 51-67, is represented, during that short span of years, by three different signatures, DŠ, DŠT and DŠTY. Could it be that for the silver coins either DŠ or DŠTY is Dasht Maysān, while DŠT is the Dasht in Fārs? This is highly unlikely, as there exists an AH 65 coin in the name of the Baṣran governor, Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh, with the mint signature DŠT; as noted in the section on sub-phase 3b, all of his coins are understood to have been minted in southern Iraq.[354] Curiously, there are drachms of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr dated 67 from both DŠ and DŠT; however, their style and epigraphy are so similar that there is no reason to regard these two signatures as separate locations.[355] These remarks are, of course, purely speculative, but seem on the whole to corroborate the idea that a mint in Fārs abbreviated as DŠT could have struck copper coins in the late 70s of the Hijra, nearly a decade after the cessation of Dasht Mīshān.

The third mint, TNBKW or TNBK, is probably Tanbūk in Fārs (تنبوك), described by Yāqūt as a small town between Arrajān and Shīrāz. There are two known types, the first of which is an undated type naming Farrukhzād; instead of an attended fire-altar on the reverse, it bears a standing ram.[356] It was first published by Curiel and Gyselen in 1984. The second type cites in Arabic the still unidentified Khālid b. ʿAbbād, and is presumably dated, but the date has yet to be deciphered and may be so blundered as to be undecipherable; its obverse bears a facing portrait and an unread marginal legend.[357] Mochiri rejected the reading of TNBKW and read TWPK for "Tav(p)ak", which he regarded as another form of Tawwaj; he supported his assertion by reading the obscure marginal legend of the Khālid coins as جائز بهرور بتوز, which he translated as "authorised to be spent in Tavvaz", but the proposed hybrid Persian-Arabic inscription makes no sense. Besides, the Arabic form of the name is always توج and never توز.[358] There are later coins of Tanbūk, but here again, the literature is cluttered with misidentifications. The only coin that can be assigned with some confidence to Tanbūk is a dinar of an otherwise unknown ʿAlī b. Rahāmūj (or Zahāmūj) dated AH 344, with Shiite legends lauding ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; Tornberg read the mint as a queried Sūk (سوك) and gave no suggestion for its location.[359] A revolutionary dirham of AH 132 has been assigned to Tanbūk, but the penultimate letter is clearly *rā* or *zā*, not *wāw*; perhaps the mint name is something like Tanbarak for the common place name Ṭabarak, or perhaps an Arabicisation of the Parthian Tambrax, located in the northeastern corner of the Jibāl and active as a mint during the reign of Phraates II.[360]

Appendix III: the Dārābjird mints

It has long been commonly agreed that the abbreviation DA refers to the city of Dārābjird (modern Dārāb), capital of a district by the same name, one of the five districts of the province of Fārs. It was an important mint for Sasanian, Arab-Sasanian and early post-reform coinage, and continued to operate sporadically until the 10th/16th century, the last known issue being a silver two-shāhī coin of the Ṣafavid ruler, Muḥammad Khudābandah.

On some Arab-Sasanian drachms, instead of DA, the mint name abbreviation is either DP or DAP, written as a single word, with P connected to the previous letters. Still other coins bear the mint signature DA together with the letter P, with a monogram that is surely to be interpreted as GH, or with the word GHRWM (also read as GARWM), to which we shall shortly return; on coins of this group the additional letter or letters appear above the A of DA, rather than connected to it as part of a single word. A third group has DA in the usual mint position and either the letter P or G to the right or left of the altar base. I believe that these additional letters indicate subordinate mints within the Dārābjird region. For DP, DAP, and DA+P, I would propose the city of Fasā; for DA+G, DA+GH and DA+GARWM, I would propose Jahrum. Let us begin with Jahrum.[361]

Walker tried to read DA+GH as DARA and DA+GARWM as DARAW (with a query), thus as abbreviations of Dārābjird.[362] For the latter, he entirely ignored the final letter, which is indisputably M. He also noted that some Arab-Sasanian copper coins of Dārābjird bearing the probable YE date of 68 are countermarked with the word جهرم, which he interpreted as an Arabicisation of the Persian word

(354) Warden-Album collection. Dasht-Maysan (دشت ميسان) is a well-known early post-reform dirham mint, albeit extremely rare.

(355) The drachm of DŠT is Walker I.43 (p.104), that of DŠ is in the Warden-Album collection.

(356) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, p. 75, no. 141 (= Gyselen 2000, type 59); Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 278-279. In the section on copper coins, I have suggested that this type should have been struck no later than AH 79 because of the presence of the name Farrukhzād, and no earlier than AH 77 because of the use of an animal motif on the reverse.

There are two additional types that are related to the TNBKW coppers, the common type of Ardashīr Khurra that bears a *senmurv* and cites Farrukhzād (G2), and a rare anonymous type of Kāzirūn that featured a horse (for the Kāzirūn type, see Gyselen 2000, pp. 143-144, Types 35a and 35b; also Peus Auktion 363, 26 April 2000, lots 5572-5574; the type first appeared in the market in the early 1990s). I believe that the three issues, the anonymous type of Kāzirūn, as well as the Farrukhzād types of Ardashīr Khurra and Tanbūk, are all contemporary. Moreover, because they bear animal reverses rather than the fire-altar, I would suggest that they should all be dated just after the commencement of the main or pictorial series under al-Ḥajjāj, which I believe took place circa AH 77-79.

(357) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, pp. 76-77, (= Gyselen 2000, type 58).

(358) Mochiri 1986, pp. 73-75.

(359) Tornberg 1868, p. 705.

(360) The name has also been mistakenly read as Bayburt in northeastern Anatolia (Shams-Eshragh 1990, p. 229, no. 714, where the mint name is written as بيبرد, "baybard"). For an example of the Parthian coin, see Fred B. Shore, *Parthian Coins & History*, Quarryville 1993, p. 96, nos. 50-51.

(361) Album 1992, p. 177.

(362) Walker 1941, pp. cxvi-cxvii The same interpretations were accepted by Gaube and Kolesnikov.

chahārum, "quarter", thus as some sort of denomination. More recent studies have agreed that the countermark is indeed the town name Jahrum.[363] The place is also known as a mint name under the ʿAbbāsids and a few later rulers, though coins struck at that mint are exceedingly rare.[364] However, the clinching evidence is the well-known and only moderately rare coin of DA+GARWM struck by Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a in AH 75 (nos. 265-266), for GARWM or GHRWM —Pahlavi A and H are interchangeable—can hardly be anything else but the name of the city Jahrum. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that DA+GH and DA followed by G next to the altar base are abbreviations of the same locality.

The reading of this mint is further corroborated by a copper coin recently published by Gyselen, a coin very similar to the usual coppers of Dārābjird except that the mint name DA is replaced by GARWM or GHRWM, which can only be interpreted as Jahrum. Unfortunately, the date is illegible on the solitary reported specimen.[365]

The only conceivable argument *against* the identification with Jahrum is the absence of post-reform Umayyad dirhams from that city. However, given the frequent changes in operative mints throughout the Sasanian and early Islamic period in Iran, the absence of early post-reform coinage should probably not be regarded as evidence that the city could not have operated as a mint for the Arab-Sasanian coinage. This is especially true now that silver and copper Arab-Sasanian GARWM coins are known, and the Arabic countermark *jahrum*.[366]

In any case, such a negative argument does not exist for Fasā, whose dirhams of 79-82 are well-known, though extremely rare.[367] For that reason alone, I would suggest that the abbreviations DP, DAP and DA+P all refer to that city. Moreover, there exists a copper coin on which the mint name is fully written out, FSA or PSA, though the name was misread as "PRŠ (?)" by Curiel and Gyselen, who first published the type in 1984.[368] The copper issue is unfortunately undated, but is stylistically so similar to the Arab-Sasanian coppers of Dārābjird that it must have been struck nearby, despite its remarkably heavy weight of about 7.5 grams.[369]

There is one further issue that might hail from a subordinate mint of the Dārābjird district. There are drachms of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with the DA mint signature which also bear the syllable šw or šN to the left *and* right of the altar base. Such coins are known from the years YE 48 and 49 (cat. 249 and 251) and are not especially rare. However, the meaning of this legend remains unknown. The placement of the legend suggests that it should be a toponym, like P and G, but there seems to be no known toponym in the Dārābjird district that would fit. For now, its significance remains obscure.

(363) See especially Album 1992 and Gyselen 2000, p. 157, no. 54. For Walker's description, see Walker 1941, pp. cxlvi and 125 (countermark no. 36). Göbl seems to have regarded the countermark as possibly a mint name ("Münzstätte") but was unable to determine its location. Jahrum remains a regional town of some importance, a delightful place when I visited it back in 1973.

(364) The only type that I have occasionally seen is a rather crudely struck undated silver fractional tanka of the Āq Quyūnlū ruler Murād (AH 906-908) [Tübingen HG7 A1 and A2].

(365) Gyselen 2000, p. 157, type 54. Although she correctly read the mint-name, she queried its identification.

(366) In fact, an early dirham of Jahrum has been rumoured, presumably struck between the years 79 and 84. I would very much appreciate any confirmation of this coin.

(367) Walker 1956 for years 79-81 (p.169, nos. 452, Th.9, Ties.17) and Shams-Eshragh for year 82 (p.219, no. 551). The mint operated sporadically under subsequent dynasties as well, until the early 6th/12th century.

(368) Curiel and Gyselen 1984, nos. 161-162, republished as no. 56 in Gyselen 2000. The correct reading of the name is reasonably clear in the photograph in the 1984 publication.

(369) See also Kolesnikov 1998, pp. 294-295. He regarded the mint as either PRŠ or PRG, and suggested the legend to the left of the fire altar was the date, which he interpreted as AWYKWHŠ for AH 81. While this is possible, the initial tooth of the legend seems to be a somewhat large curved line, thus the Pahlavi letter that can be interpreted as Y, G, or D. Perhaps the discovery of better preserved specimens will permit the legend to be more carefully read.

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Arab-Byzantine coinage

The second part of this catalogue deals mainly with the coinage of Bilād al-Shām from shortly after the Arab conquest in the AD 630s up to ᶜAbd al-Malik's sweeping reform in the late 690s. This is almost wholly a copper coinage, but we are fortunate in having three examples of the rare gold in the collection. The equally rare silver is also represented, but, because this is based on Sasanian types, we felt that this would be better dealt with in the Arab-Sasanian section in this volume (cat. 278-279 and 305).

The first Muslim raids into southern Syria took place in 633 and the Byzantines were decisively defeated at the battle of Yarmuk in 636. A number of towns held out against the invaders for a few years, but the last major town to fall was Caesarea (Qayṣariya) in 640, by which time the whole of Bilād al-Shām was effectively under Muslim control. In contrast to the situation in the Sasanian lands, there had been no major mints in operation in the area for about thirty years, although there had been some sporadic minting from minor mints.[1] Consequently, there was no direct continuity from Byzantine to early Islamic coinage.

The pre-reform coinage of Bilād al-Shām is generally known as "Arab-Byzantine". This is an apt name in the sense that it was issued from areas under Arab rule, but incorporated some iconographic elements of Byzantine coinage. However, the term lacks a precisely understood definition, and in this catalogue I have used the more precise terms given below, reserving Arab-Byzantine for occasional use in a very general sense.

In the period up to the reform which occurred at the end of the 690s, four separate stages can be distinguished:

- A period of importation of **Byzantine** copper folles from the conquest until about AD 658.
- Mintless **Pseudo-Byzantine** coins based loosely on their Byzantine prototypes, and produced at a number of small mints throughout the area with at least some degree of official sanction (probably produced circa AD late 650s to 670s).
- The **Umayyad Imperial Image** coinage with legends in Greek and/or Arabic, generally including a mint name (circa AD 670-690).
- The **Standing Caliph** coinage bearing a new standardised Islamic image on both obverse and reverse. Legends are in Arabic and for the first time give us the name of the caliph, ᶜAbd al-Malik, though not on every variety of this series (mostly issued in 690s).

The first stage is beyond the scope of this catalogue—the types are well treated in the standard Byzantine numismatic literature—but the next three are dealt with in the first three main sections of this introduction. Each stage of coinage requires a slightly different treatment but, generally speaking, in each section the images on the coins are considered first, followed by the legends and concluding with the mint structure.

With the exception of the standing caliph gold dinars, all coins are undated, and the chronology, both relative and absolute, has been the subject of considerable debate. The fourth main section therefore returns to this question and proposes a provisional overall chronology. This is followed by two short sections on the pre-reform coinage of Egypt and North Africa, which is represented by only a few coins from the collection.

While the two collections do not contain all types of all mints, the overall coverage is good. In addition, there are a number or rare and interesting coins, most notably the three gold solidi. There are also some good runs of coins for particular mints and, in the Standing Caliph series in particular, these are more extensive than any previously published in a single volume.

The catalogue is arranged in three main parts in the same order as the introduction, i.e., Pseudo-Byzantine, Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph, followed by two short sections on Egypt and North Africa. Within each part the catalogue is arranged, where applicable, by mint.

No book dealing with Arab-Byzantine coins could avoid making frequent reference to John Walker's British Museum catalogue published in 1956. Although slightly obsolete in a number of areas, this book is still essential, and the coins in this catalogue are referenced to it throughout (referred to as "Walker"). For Byzantine coin references I have used Wolfgang Hahn's *Moneta Imperii Byzantinii* (referred to as "MIB").

Terminology

Fortunately, the terminology required to describe the Arab-Byzantine series is generally straightforward, but there are three main areas where some care is required, and where I have found it necessary to assign specific definitions. The first area has already been alluded to, that is the definition of "Arab-Byzantine". The phrase seems to have been first used extensively in published material by Walker himself, who used it in the general sense of any early Islamic coin which bore Byzantine-style images. He extended it to the Standing Caliph coinage and also to the few purely epigraphic gold dinars with Latin legends. It therefore covered a large variety of coins from a geographical region which extended from Iran to Spain. This wide definition has generally been favoured by collectors and dealers, but numismatists specialising in the field have often found it too wide, and have tended to gravitate to a narrower definition synonymous with the term "Umayyad Imperial Image" defined above. The recognition since Walker's publication of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage as an extensive

(1) The only major Byzantine mint in the area was Antioch (Anṭākiya), and the last official issues from this mint date from the end of Phocas' reign in 610. However, irregular large module folles of Justin II, Phocas and Heraclius are known, which may be the result of semi-official minting during the Persian occupation (see Hahn MIB, Heraclius X29-X42, also Hahn 1977 and Pottier 1979). Two other mints appear to have operated briefly in Bilād al-Shām during the reign of Heraclius, first at Jerusalem in year 4 (AD 613-614) (MIB Heraclius X27 and X28), and secondly at a mint with the signature NEA, probably Neapolis (Nablus) in Palestine, in years 25 and 26 (634/5 and 635/6, respectively) (MIB Heraclius X24).

series has created a further problem, with some describing these coins as "Arab-Byzantine" and others using terms such as "Arab copies". The result of all this has been a certain amount of confusion; hence my decision to use two relatively new terms for the first two phases of the coinage, and to reserve "Arab-Byzantine" for use in a general sense. The first term, "Pseudo-Byzantine", has already been used in a number of recent publications. It seems to me to be preferable to the previously used "Arab copy" or "Arab imitation" because both these latter terms strongly imply that the coins were issued by "Arabs". In fact, both the production of coins and the control of the mints may well have been in the hands of the local Christian populations, albeit with some form of official sanction from the new Arab governors. The second new term, "Umayyad Imperial Image"[2] has been adopted reluctantly as a necessary additional complication, but the alternative "Arab-Byzantine" seemed likely to prolong the present confusion.

The second main area of terminology where some additional precision is required is in the use of the words **type**, **variety** and **issue**. For many series of coins these words can be used almost synonymously, and this would be the case for much of the material in this catalogue. However, at the Damascus mint it appears that at times obverses and reverses were combined almost randomly, so "issues" overlapped and different "varieties" were issued simultaneously. I have therefore used the word **type** to mean a distinct image and **variety** to mean a distinct combination of obverse and reverse images and legends from a particular mint. Minor differences in images or legends are referred to as **sub-varieties**. The term **issue** has the connotation of a "production run" in the mint during which a particular variety of coin was produced. It has therefore only been used where there is no doubt that this is what actually took place.

The third main area is the definition of a **mint**. Generally, this presents no problems, and the term **mint** is used in the normal numismatic sense, but for the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage it is not clear to what extent the coins were produced in officially sanctioned mints. I will argue that most of the Pseudo-Byzantine coins were indeed produced in small mints which were subject to some degree of official control, but the possibility remains that some of the coins were outright forgeries. In referring to Pseudo-Byzantine coins I have therefore used the word "mint" in inverted commas to signify the uncertainty as to what sort of establishment actually existed. I have also assigned two groups of mintless Umayyad Imperial Image coins to two new mints at unknown locations ("Pseudo-Damascus" and *al-wafā' lillāh*). These two distinct groups of coins have sometimes been considered as unofficial and have also been confused with each other, but I will argue that they are almost certainly official.

The study of Arab-Byzantine coins

Illustrations of Arab-Byzantine coins are only encountered very infrequently in numismatic works before the last few years of the 18th century. Not only were they rare and apparently rather insignificant, but the occurrence of coins bearing images combined with Islamic legends caused considerable puzzlement. If an author wanted to give an example of an Islamic figural coin he was much more likely to illustrate one of the Turcoman series, which were more visually striking than Arab-Byzantine coins. However, a few examples were published: for example, in 1741 Arigoni illustrated a Standing Caliph fals, probably of Ḥalab, in a style, typical of the day, which classicises the original image and "improves" on some of its inadequacies. It shares the plate (Tab. XIII) with Turcoman and other coins described only as *uncertain*.

The first accurate engraving which I have been able to locate came from Carsten Niebuhr, the well-known explorer of Arabia, who in 1774 illustrated a Standing Caliph fals of Qinnasrīn (Tab.X). He was unable to identify the mint correctly, but read the word *wāf* on the reverse as a Hijrī date 616 (=AD 1219). A major step forward occurred in 1782 with the publication by Georg Adler of the early Islamic coins in the collection of Cardinal Stefano Borgia. He illustrated three Syrian Umayyad Imperial Image, one North African and seven Standing Caliph coins. The clear engravings were slightly "improved", but essentially accurate. His interpretations were sensible, but unfortunately he was misled by two initial deductions, which were to lead most numismatists in the wrong direction for the next thirty years. The first of these was to regard the word ΛΕΟ on the Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Damascus as the name of a Byzantine emperor, and he concluded that the most logical choice was Leo IV, "the Khazar" (ruled AD 775-780). This idea, also put forward by Abbé Sestini, then allowed the reading of certain Arabic words such as *jā'iz* and *ḥarrān* as "Khazar" and so reinforced the interpretation. The second deduction, following Niebuhr, was that the word *wāf* on the reverse of many Standing Caliph coins was a date numeral. Adler therefore believed that the Umayyad Imperial Image coins were Byzantine issues, presumably for use in territories with Muslim subjects, and that the Standing Caliph coins were perhaps Turcoman issues with the standing figure based on a Byzantine image of Christ. He did, however, correctly identify the mint name *qinnasrīn*. Shortly afterwards (1787/1792) Simone Assemani illustrated four more Standing Caliph coins in his catalogue of the collection belonging to the Venetian senator Iacopo Nani. The elegant engravings were slightly more embellished than those of Adler, but still essentially accurate. He was unable to identify the mint names, and generally followed Adler's interpretations of the coins, although he felt that the characters spelling *wāf* were probably alphabetic rather than numeric.

Good quality engravings of a number of Arab-Byzantine coins were published in the monumental Napoleonic *Description de l'Égypte* (various authors from 1809 onwards, plates H and I in volume II of *État Moderne*). Shortly afterwards, some very realistic ones appeared in the Milan Museum catalogue (Castiglioni 1819), which illustrated Standing Caliph coins from seven different mints, including Tanūkh and Yubna (Tav. VIII, nos. 1 and 6). Although not as elegant as some contemporary engravings of coins, these seem to have been the first illustrations which made absolutely no attempt to improve the image, and showed areas of wear on the actual coins. In one or two cases they are good enough to identify an individual

(2) I am grateful to Michael Bates for this suggestion.

die, but Castiglioni was only able to correctly identify two mints, Ḥalab and Ḥimṣ. A further selection of coins was well illustrated by William Marsden in his *Numismatica Orientalia* of 1823, including the first accurate illustration which I have located of a Pseudo-Byzantine coin (plate XVII, no. cccvii). Whilst he rejected the idea of coins being produced by Leo IV, he was inclined to regard both Pseudo-Byzantine and Umayyad Imperial Image coins as imitations of Byzantine coins and not earlier than the 12th century.

Most late 18th century commentators, such as Adler, Sestini and Tychsen, could not believe that the early rulers of central Islamic lands would have allowed images on their regular coinage, and were forced to construct ingenious explanations for the occurrence of such coins. Marsden summed up this line of thinking in *Numismatica Orientalia:* "In all large collections of oriental coins many are found .... exhibiting mixed symbols or inscriptions, partly Christian and partly Mahometan; peculiarities arising from the circumstance of their having been struck either by Christian princes who wished to conciliate the good will of Mahomatens whose country they had subdued; by those who, in a state of relative weakness, courted the protection or bowed under the authority of powerful neighbours, and in token of homage made a display of their titles; or, finally, by barbarous and ignorant converts to islaemism, who adopted as ornaments to their coinage, without any regard to their import, the devices and inscriptions of foreign money." (Marsden 1823, p.286)

A fourth possibility, proposed by the author of the memoir on coinage in the *Description de l'Egypte*, was that the coins were produced by Arabs to trade with Christian communities, with the added benefit of introducing false money into their economies (Bernard 1825, p.236).

Two numismatists deserve considerable credit for going back to the coins, carefully observing what was there and drawing the correct, if somewhat unfashionable, conclusions. Firstly, Baron Marchant in 1817 pointed out the implausibility of Leo IV having struck coins in Damascus 140 years after the Arab conquest, and suggested that they had probably been produced by the early caliphs. Secondly, Castiglioni, author of the Milan catalogue, read the legend on the obverse of a Standing Caliph coin and correctly interpreted it as being issued by ʿAbd al-Malik. This interpretation was not immediately accepted, and Marsden listed eight objections to it in 1823.

Following this period of rather hesitant progress, the foundation of the modern study of Arab-Byzantine coinage is almost wholly due to one man, Felicien de Saulcy, who transformed the understanding of the series in four seminal "letters" published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1839. De Saulcy, an artillery officer, was a polymath in the best early 19th century tradition, an apparently self-taught oriental linguist with a flair for understanding inscriptions. His first and third letters dealt with the Arab-Byzantine coins of North Africa, in particular the copper issues of al-Nuʿmān (no. 206) with Arabic legends and those of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr (Walker 159ff.) with their difficult Latin legends. In both cases he correctly read the legends, dated the coins and assigned them to Africa. However, his second and fourth letters, dealing with the coinage of Bilād al-Shām, were the most important. In the second letter he carefully set out the reasons for anticipating an Arabic copper coinage prior to ʿAbd al-Malik's reform, and showed how a number of coins matched what would be expected. He then went on to read the legends of virtually all the main types of Umayyad Imperial Image coins, finally laying the ghost of Leo the Khazar by his correct reading of the word *jā'iz* on the coins of Damascus. His only real mistake was to assign one of the rare standing emperor coins of Ṭabariya to Chalcis. Given that the currently accepted reading of these coins was only proposed in 1966 by Meshorer and is even now subject to some doubt, we can perhaps forgive de Saulcy this one error. His clear, accurate plates also include two Pseudo-Byzantine coins, which he realised were from the same period and location, but was forced to classify as uncertain. In his fourth letter he dealt with the Standing Caliph coins, giving his wholehearted support to Castiglioni's reading of the ʿAbd al-Malik legend. He then went on to correctly identify the mints of Īliyā, Baalbek, Ḥalab, Ḥimṣ, Dimashq, al-Ruhā, Qinnasrīn and Manbij. ʿAmmān and Sarmīn defeated him and he wrongly attributed a coin from Qūrus, but nevertheless this was a huge step forward, and again the letter contained clear accurate plates.

De Saulcy produced no more published work in this field until 1871, devoting the remaining forty years of his distinguished career to subjects as diverse as Celtic coinage, French coinage and the exploration of the Dead Sea area. Unfortunately, the 1871 letter to the *Journal Asiatique* contained three rather far-fetched interpretations of coins which he had obtained in the Middle East. These ideas were thoroughly demolished by Walker, with the unintended consequence that readers of Walker's book are likely to underestimate the value of de Saulcy's huge contribution to the study of Arab-Byzantine coinage.

The second half of the 19th century saw the publication of a series of important catalogues of Islamic coin collections, the first of which was Stickel's *Handbuch* to the Jena collection in 1870.[3] In the introduction, Stickel attempted to set the coins in historical context, wrongly attributing some of them to the earliest period of Islamic rule, and discussed in some detail the image of the Standing Caliph and its significance. With one or two exceptions the main Umayyad Imperial Image mints had by now been identified; Reinaud had added ʿAmmān and Sarmīn to de Saulcy's list of Standing Caliph mints and Stickel correctly read Qūrus. He included in his catalogue details of other Arab-Byzantine coins which had been published previously, and so produced the first reasonably comprehensive corpus. The one feature which detracted from Stickel's publication was the lack of illustrations, with only a single plate to each volume, which included engravings of one North African and five Syrian Arab-Byzantine coins. Other major catalogues followed over the next 30 years: Tiesenhausen in 1873 (St. Petersburg), Lavoix in 1887 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the first to include photographic illustrations), Lane-Poole in 1889 (British Museum, London) and Nützel in 1898 (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin).[4] With

(3) The *Handbuch* was published in two parts, the first in 1854 and the second in 1870. The Arab-Byzantine coins are dealt with in the second part.

(4) Occasional examples of Pseudo-Byzantine coins appeared in

the exception of Lane-Poole, who provided practically no commentary, all these authors made contributions to the understanding of the coinage, but these were relatively minor, and overall the study of the coinage did not really progress very far until the late 1930s. In fact, at times it took a few steps backward, when numismatists allowed their imagination free rein with the blundered Arabic and Greek inscriptions on worn coins. Even scholars of the calibre of de Saulcy and Stickel could fall into the trap, but perhaps the most fanciful theory came from Casanova in 1893, when he interpreted Arabic legends on the Standing Caliph coins of Ḥarrān and Maʿarrat Maṣrīn as Himyarite inscriptions.

One development that might have been expected by the early 20th century is evidence from archaeological excavation, especially considering the early priority given to excavation in Palestine. Surprisingly, this evidence was completely absent until the publication of finds from the Jerash excavations in the 1930s, and even since then it has been extremely sparse until very recently. The reasons for this seem to have been a combination of lack of interest in Byzantine and Islamic site levels, poor control of the local workforce with the consequent loss of small finds, and a lack of numismatic knowledge amongst many archaeologists.

The Anglo-American excavations at Jerash between 1928 and 1934 produced examples of a previously unknown Arab-Byzantine coin, the Justin and Sophia type of Scythopolis. This was so unlike the other coins of the series that when first published by Walker in 1935 it was interpreted as the product of a provincial Byzantine mint. Alfred Bellinger soon corrected this interpretation in his publication of the coins from Jerash in 1938. The initial sorting of Islamic coins from Jerash was carried out by the Deputy British Resident in Amman, Alec Kirkbride, who was responsible for starting up an embryonic numismatic collection in Amman. He also collected coins and published the first group of Pseudo-Byzantine coins in 1946. This comprised 63 coins from Transjordan, all of which were illustrated, including a few *al-wafā lillāh* and "Pseudo-Damascus" coins.[5]

The next major development was the publication of John Walker's British Museum catalogue in 1956, which included virtually all types of Arab-Byzantine coins then known, to which George Miles added new Umayyad Imperial Image coins from Amman and Ṭarṭūs when he reviewed the book in 1959. Although Walker did not revolutionise the understanding of the coinage in the way that de Saulcy had done, his achievement was considerable, and his book has proved indispensable ever since. He very fully described all the BM coins and illustrated almost all of them, plus a selection of important coins from other collections. He comprehensively reviewed the whole subject and, with a straightforward approach, corrected a large number of his predecessors' errors or flights of fancy, making many original contributions in the process. The main criticisms that can be levelled at Walker are his rather naïve approach to the chronology and his decision to classify by type rather than by mint.

The development of the subject since Walker's book will be touched on many times in this introduction, and so need not be covered in detail here, but perhaps four strands of development can be distinguished over the past 40 years: firstly, the debate on chronology initiated by Michael Bates in 1976 and still very much alive today; secondly, the publication of a number of new mints and varieties, particularly from the southern part of Bilād al-Shām[6]; thirdly, the gradual realisation of the significance of both the imports of official Byzantine coinage and the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage; and fourthly, the application of the scientific techniques of numismatics, such as die studies, which have only recently become practicable with the larger volume of coins now available.

For the future there are hopeful signs that better results will emerge from excavations, and more catalogues of collections can be expected, both in conventional and electronic format. Effective communication between historians, archaeologists and numismatists is essential for future progress, and we hope that this publication can make its own contribution in this area.

Pseudo-Byzantine coinage

General comments

Pseudo-Byzantine coins were the earliest to be minted in Bilād al-Shām after the Arab conquest. They loosely copy Byzantine folles of Constans II (641-668), and to a lesser extent Heraclius (610-641), but usually have heavily blundered legends. Because relatively little material was published until recently, writers in the past, Walker among them, seem to have been unaware of the scope of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. However, the coins were produced in large quantities at a number of "mints", and

catalogues of Byzantine coins, having been (sometimes tentatively) identified as regular Byzantine issues. For example, Sabatier 1862 has an illustration of a Type G imperial bust Pseudo-Byzantine coin (pl. xxxii, no. 20) and also one of the enigmatic Type UII Egyptian coins which may have been struck under Arab rule (p. xxx, no. 19).

(5) Illustrations of Pseudo-Byzantine coins have been remarkably few and far between until relatively recently, but an exception is Waage's 1952 publication of the Byzantine coins of Antioch. Out of 225 Byzantine coins catalogued, eight are identified as "imitations of Constans II". Six of these are illustrated, including some well-preserved and interesting specimens.

(6) So far as I know the first publication of new mints and significant new types since Walker's catalogue is as follows: (1) Miles 1959: Umayyad Imperial Image from ʿAmmān and Ṭarṭūs (variety with monogrammatic reverse). (2) Lowick 1970: Scythopolis with **K** reverse. (3) al-ʿŪsh 1971: Pseudo-Byzantine type I with the bust of Constantine IV. (4) Berman 1976: Standing Caliph from Yubna. (5) Shamma 1980: Umayyad Imperial Image from Jerash. (6) Qedar 1984: Umayyad Imperial Image from Diospolis (Ludd). (7) Qedar 1991: Standing Caliph from Ludd.

Some auction catalogues also published rare Arab-Byzantine coins, particularly in the late 1970s and the 1980s. The first publication of a standing emperor Umayyad Imperial Image coin of Jerusalem appears to have been in the Spink/Zurich auction of 20 May 1989 (no. 189). A comprehensive list of other auction catalogues would be beyond the scope of this work, but particular mention should be made of the series of Sternberg auctions: 25 November 1976 (5 Scythopolis, including a **K** reverse), 24 November 1977 (2 Scythopolis, including a different variety with **K** reverse), 16 November 1978 (several coins from the Irbid hoard), and 25 November 1980 (2 Scythopolis, as well as Yubna).

they are probably more abundant today than the later Umayyad Imperial Image coinage.

The Ashmolean and Shamma collections are not large, but they contain some interesting and unusual specimens, as well as a representative sample of the more common types.

Types and Legends

Whilst the standing emperor type (type E), imitating the early folles of Constans II, is by far the most common type of Pseudo-Byzantine coin, a number of other images are found, some of which deviate quite markedly from their prototypes. The known obverse types are listed below along with their normal reverses (types marked * are not represented in the catalogue):

A*. Two Figure Phocas (see Goodwin 1994, p.358, no. 30) — This rather uncommon type has an obverse based on a follis of Phocas (such as MIB 60, minted 602-604) with the emperor on the left and the empress on the right, but the reverse is more like Type B below, which copies Heraclius. The legends on the few known specimens are heavily blundered versions of those on the prototype.

Obverse: Two standing imperial figures, left figure holds a globus and right figure holds a cruciform sceptre.

Reverse: Capital **M**, with cross above.[7]

B. Three Standing Figures (cat. 505-506) — Based on the Cyprus year 17 folles of Heraclius (MIB 198, minted 626/627).

Cat. 505

Obverse: Three standing imperial figures holding globus crucigers. Sometimes the central figure is bearded, and occasionally the left figure has the distinctive crown of the empress. A rare variant has the central figure in military dress, and therefore must be based on Heraclius' Class 6 folles of year 30 and 31.[8] As on the prototype, there is normally no obverse legend.

Reverse: Capital **M** with cross above, very occasionally a cursive **m**.

The most common reverse legend is a copy of the original with ANNO and XYII (year 17) to the left and right of the **M** and the Cyprus mint mark in the exergue. However, many variants occur, some with completely garbled legends and others with mintmarks recognisable as Constantinople, Thessalonika or Nikomedia.

C. Two Standing Figures, one wearing military dress (cat. 507) — Probably based on the Class 5 Constantinople follis of Heraclius (minted 629-640, e.g., MIB 168), but possibly the Class 8 follis of Constans II (MIB 174, minted 655-658) which have an identical obverse.

Obverse: Two standing imperial figures, the one on the left wearing military dress and holding a long cross, the one on the right holding a globus cruciger. There is normally no obverse legend apart from the occasional appearance of a blundered Heraclian monogram to one or the other side of the figures.

Reverse: Capital **M** with cross above, occasionally a cursive **m**.

Reverse legends are normally blundered versions of the prototype, with the mintmark CON, although a few specimens bear the NIKO mintmark for Nikomedia or KYZ for Cyzicus, despite the fact that no Byzantine coins of this type were issued from either of these mints.

D*. Single Figure in Military Dress — No obvious prototype, but probably derived from Type C above. Specimens of both the prototype and imitations of Type C are often found with one figure hardly visible due to poor striking.

Obverse: Single standing imperial figure wearing military dress and holding a long cross.

Reverse: Capital **M** with cross above.

The legends on the few known specimens of this type are normally very heavily blundered (see Goodwin 1993b).

(7) Both **M** and **m** were originally a mark of value on the Byzantine follis denoting 40 nummi, the nummus being the smallest Byzantine copper coin, which was phased out during the 6th century. The half follis carried the figure **K** for 20, but this is not found on Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. It does, however, appear on two rare varieties of Umayyad Imperial Image coins from Baysān.

(8) Classes for the coinage of Heraclius and Constans II are after Grierson 1963. Useful charts describing each class can be found in Grierson 1982, pp. 108 and 112.

E. Standing Emperor with cursive m reverse (cat. 508 ff.) — Based on the Class 1 to 4 Constantinople folles of Constans II (MIB 162 ff., minted 641-648).

Cat. 512

Obverse: Emperor standing, usually beardless, facing, holding long cross and globus cruciger.

Reverse: Cursive **m**, with cross above.

In general the legends on this large group of coins are blundered versions of the prototype, but there are some interesting variations. Most notably, many coins include some form of "mintmark" in the reverse exergue, a space occupied by the "officina" letter and date on the prototypes. Whilst this is normally recognisable as CON for Constantinople or something close, many other variants occur, and it is just possible that one or two of these variants are meaningful.

F. Standing Emperor with capital M reverse (cat. 526 ff.) — Based on the Class 5 to 7 standing emperor folles of Constans II (MIB 170, minted 651-658).

Obverse: Emperor as above, but usually bearded.

Reverse: Capital **M**, with cross above.

As on Type E, the legends are generally blundered versions of the prototype, although sometimes the reverse is closer to the Heraclius year 17 legend of Type B.

G. Imperial Bust (cat. 528) — Based on the year 3 *inper const* Constantinople follis of Constans II (MIB 166, minted 643/644).

Cat. 528

Obverse: Beardless facing imperial bust holding globus cruciger.

Reverse: Capital **M** with cross above.

An interesting variant of this type (cat. 529) has a crescent and star on either side of the bust and often a large S to the right. It has been suggested that this might be a copy of Egyptian coins of the Persian occupation period (MIB 202 of Heraclius), but the presence of the globus from the Constans II coin and the absence of the prominent pendilia found on the Egyptian coins makes this unlikely.[9]

(9) Another rare variant has two imperial busts. The reverses of both known examples are very similar to those on the "star and crescent" variant just described and were clearly produced by the same "mint". One example is in the Tübingen collection, no. 99-95-1.

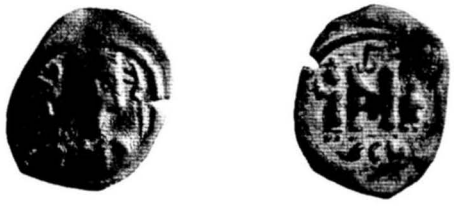
Legends on imperial bust coins show great variety and often bear little resemblance to that of the prototype. Exergual mintmarks commonly occur and include those which are recognisable as Constantinople, Cyzicus and Cyprus.

H*. Bearded Imperial Bust — This may be based on the rather scarce year 11 *inper const* Constantinople follis of Constans II (MIB 169, minted 651/652), but on some examples the obverse looks more like that of some later gold solidi of Constans II.

Obverse: Imperial bust as above, but with long beard.

Reverse: Capital **M** with cross above.

I. Constantine IV Bust (cat. 530) — Based on the undated Sicilian follis (MIB 104) from the early part of Constantine IV's reign (he reigned 668-685).



Cat. 530

Obverse: Beardless facing imperial bust holding globus cruciger.

Reverse: Capital **M** with monogram above, and standing figures either side holding globus crucigers.

The obverse of these coins bears a legend on either side of the emperor's head, which could possibly be Arabic, Syriac or Pahlavi. It has not yet been satisfactorily read and the most likely interpretation is that it represents "nonsense" Arabic in the same way that other Pseudo-Byzantine coins have "nonsense" Greek or Latin legends. If the inscriptions do turn out to be meaningful, this type will need to be reclassified as Umayyad Imperial Image. [10]

(10) First published by al-ʿŪsh in 1971, this type does not appear in any major references, but examples can be found illustrated in the Leu sale catalogue of 7 May 1985, lot 415, and Spink/Zurich of 16 September 1991, lot 3. A reading was suggested by al-ʿŪsh, but has not found general acceptance. It has also been suggested that this is an Iranian type, but this is not borne out by provenances, which appear to be North Syrian, or from the fabric which is generally much thicker that those of known contemporary Iranian types. Reverse die links are known to two standing emperor dies of reasonably normal style, one of which also occurs coupled with a normal cursive **m** reverse. All this suggests a Syrian provenance.

Despite the fact that the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage is generally easy to distinguish, both in terms of style and fabric, from the later Umayyad Imperial Image series, it is interesting to note a number of innovations from the former series which were adopted in the latter:[11]

- The use of circles and curved lines either side of the reverse cross on some standing emperor coins (e.g., cat. 519 and 523) was adopted at Ḥimṣ on the imperial bust coins.
- The stylisation of the standing imperial figure which sometimes occurs on Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, particularly the interpretation of the edge of the robe as a support for the globus cruciger (e.g., cat. 521), was common at Damascus.
- The year 17 reverse from Type B was adopted at Damascus.
- The transition from NEOS (to the right of the reverse **m** on most early Constans II folles) to ΛΕΟ at Damascus can be seen on a number of Type E specimens (e.g., cat. 517).
- The use of the inappropriate mint marks, e.g. NIKO, was adopted at Scythopolis and Diospolis.

The classification of Pseudo-Byzantine coins is complicated by the occurrence of a small number of later coins which appear to copy certain features of regular Umayyad Imperial Image coins, particularly those of Damascus, but have no meaningful inscriptions (e.g., cat. 605). These have been classified with the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage, but in a few cases it is difficult to decide whether a particular feature is copying or anticipating official coins, as with cat. 520, which has pellets between the uprights and the **m** as do the Umayyad Imperial Image coins cat. 599, 601 and 604.

Gold coinage

The earliest gold coinage to be issued under Muslim rule comprised mintless solidi which copied Byzantine prototypes, but with the elimination of crosses. These "mutilated cross" solidi of which cat. 606 is a typical example might be properly described as "Pseudo-Byzantine" as they bear no new meaningful Greek or Arabic legends. However, so that they can be considered along with the later solidi bearing the Shahada, they are discussed in the section on Umayyad Imperial Image coinage.

Mint structure and issuing authority

The dates for the prototypes span at least 70 years and some imitations, taken in isolation, could easily be classified as irregular Byzantine coins dating from before the conquest. However, recent research into die-linked groups and groups with close stylistic affinities have revealed many instances of the same "mint" producing Heraclius and even Phocas copies alongside the various Constans II designs, with frequent disregard for whether the correct reverse die was being used.[12] For example, cat. 507 couples a Heraclius obverse with a Constans II reverse, whilst cat. 528 does the opposite. Given that the conquest was complete before the accession of Constans II in 641, we can therefore be confident that the great majority of Pseudo-Byzantine coins postdate the conquest.

Unfortunately, the mixing of designs means that the typological classification given in the last section is not very useful for classifying the coinage geographically or chronologically. In 1993 I suggested a broad classification in terms of style, comprising four categories (Goodwin 1993a): (1) Passable imitations; (2) Crude imitations with vestigial legends; (3) Free adaptations of good Byzantine style; (4) Free adaptations with new stylistic components. Whilst this classification is of some use in terms of broad description, it still does not take us very far, and examples do occur of die links between categories. An alternative approach is to classify by fabric, e.g., square flans, flans formed from old halved Byzantine folles, etc. However, this is also of only limited usefulness, as examples occur of the same pair of dies being used on two flans of very different fabric. It seems therefore that a fuller understanding of the coinage will only be possible following a laborious process of die comparisons to sort out the production of different "mints". This will need to be backed up by more details of geographical distribution from excavation reports. The work is still very much in its early stages, but a few provisional conclusions can be drawn from our present state of knowledge:

- Although there are a few very lightweight or very crude coins which are probably contemporary forgeries, most coins are only slightly lighter and slightly cruder than the Byzantine prototypes. There are none of the signs of widespread illegal production, i.e., rapidly declining quality and weight.
- Some coins are so deliberately different from the prototypes, and sometimes better produced, that it seems likely in these cases that the intention was to produce something distinctive, making it probable that the issue was officially sanctioned, though not necessarily officially designed.
- There is some slight evidence that the coins circulated quite widely, i.e., that a particular type did not just serve a particular city.[13]

(11) We can never be absolutely certain that a given Pseudo-Byzantine coin was struck before the first Umayyad Imperial Image coins. The two series certainly overlapped and, as mentioned at the end of this section, certain coins seem to copy features from the Umayyad Imperial Image series. However, for each of the characteristics mentioned here a logical progression can be observed from the Byzantine prototype to the final Umayyad Imperial Image design. We can therefore be very nearly certain that the characteristics described here appeared on the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage before they appeared on the Umayyad Imperial Image series.

(12) Most of this work is unpublished, but a number of groups of up to twenty obverse dies, clearly produced by the same mint, have been identified. Small die-linked or stylistically linked groups are described in Mansfield 1992, Goodwin 1994, Oddy 1995, Goodwin 1995 and Karukstis 2000.

(13) The Pseudo-Byzantine coins in a hoard from Ḥamāh in Syria (see Phillips and Goodwin 1997) contained a wide variety of types. Karukstis 2000 describes a stylistically related group of Pseudo-Byzantine coins found generally in Israel, but with one example recorded from the Dehes excavation in northern Syria, indicating that this group may have circulated over quite a wide area. However, this group shares some stylistic features with Umayyad Imperial Image

- Coins from the southern part of Bilād al-Shām seem to be generally cruder than in the north, and the reuse of quartered flans of old Byzantine folles seems to be a southern practice (see for examples cat. 517-522 collected by J.L. Starkey at Lachish).
- The Type B three figure coins seem to be generally from the north of the area, as are other coins of roughly elliptical shape, apparently often struck cold (so that the undertypes are clearly visible), on the halved flans of old Byzantine folles (see Goodwin 1994).

Given the complete lack of relevant contemporary documentary sources dealing with local administrative structures, we can do little more than speculate as to who the issuing authorities may have been. Military minting can probably be ruled out, as there is no evidence to associate the coins either with the frontier area in the extreme northwest, or with towns which contained large military bases such as Ḥimṣ. Local municipal authorities are one possibility, and Ilisch has recently suggested that local ecclesiastical officials may also have been responsible for some minting (Ilisch 2001b). Whatever the answer, the absence of large numbers of lightweight coins, which would normally be associated with widespread illegal minting, suggests that the minting was officially controlled in some way.

It is not yet possible to accurately estimate the number of "mints" in operation, but at least 20 apparently distinctive groups of coins can be discerned. However, further research may show that a number of these groups are linked to each other and thus represent the output of the same "mint" at different periods. Certainly it seems probable that there were at least ten "mints" in operation, although not necessarily all at exactly the same time.

Dating

The problems of dating will be considered in some detail in the section on Chronology, but it seems likely that the start of the main period of minting is to be associated with the sharp decline in official Byzantine imports which took place in the late 650s. The large volume of the coinage suggests that minting continued for quite a long period, probably more than twenty years. A few Pseudo-Byzantine coins copy prototypes of Constantine IV (668-685) and a few coins incorporate features which may be derived from Umayyad Imperial Image coins (e.g., cat. 520, which has pellets between the uprights of the **m**). Therefore production certainly continued into the 670s and also beyond the start of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. Output probably declined after 680, but Ilisch has raised the possibility that in Jund Qinnasrīn, where there is no known Umayyad Imperial Image coinage, minting may have continued right up to the start of the Standing Caliph coinage in the early 690s (Ilisch 2001b).

coins and may therefore be of later date than most Pseudo-Byzantine coinage.

Countermarking

A small proportion (perhaps 2-3%) of Pseudo-Byzantine coins are countermarked with either a monogram/ geometric design, an Arabic word or occasionally an animal shape. Where they have been read, the Arabic words are either the name of a town (*Ludd* is the only definite example known), an expression of validation such as *ṭayyib* ("good"), or a religious expression such as *lillāh* ("for God"). Some of these countermarks also appear occasionally on regular Byzantine coins of Constans II, and a few on certain Umayyad Imperial Image coins. Around thirty different seventh-century Syrian countermarks have been identified (see Goodwin 2000), and it is likely that they were used to validate coins for circulation in a particular region. However, the fact that such a small proportion of either Byzantine or Pseudo-Byzantine coinage bear these countermarks indicates that the practice was shortlived, and probably confined to a limited number of localities. There was only one countermarked coin in the Hamah hoard, suggesting that countermarking was a recent innovation when this hoard was deposited (see Phillips and Goodwin 1997). The rare occurrence of countermarks on only a few specific types of Umayyad Imperial Image coins suggests that the practice ceased very soon after the introduction of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage.

None of these countermarks is known to occur outside the area of Muslim rule, but there is a common Byzantine countermark, which is thought to be a monogram for Constantine IV (668-685), which occurs on regular Constans II coins found mainly in Cyprus, but also sometimes in Syria.[14] Only two coins in the collection bear countermarks: Arabic *ṭayyib* (cat. 513) and the Greek letter B (cat. 526), a type which is apparently previously unpublished.

Umayyad Imperial Image coinage

General comments

The second main phase of minting following the conquest saw the introduction of the first clearly official coinage, with literate legends in Greek and/or Arabic. The coins were struck at ten named mints and at least two other mints which did not include a mint name on their coins. In this catalogue we have classified by mint, working roughly from north to south.

Unlike the contemporary Arab-Sasanian silver and copper coinage, all these coins are undated and lack the name of a ruler or governor. Both absolute and relative dating is therefore problematic. However, in the section on chronology below, I will argue that Umayyad Imperial Image coinage probably started in the 670s as a local

(14) See MIB Vol. 3, plate 36, for illustrations of the countermark on folles of Constans II and one follis of Constantine IV.
Generally speaking, this common countermark is not found on Pseudo-Byzantine coins, but it does occur on three specimens in the British Museum of Type B Pseudo-Byzantine coins, clearly of Syrian manufacture, said to have been found in Cyprus as part of a large hoard (see Wroth 1908, plate XXVI, no. 5; the other two are not illustrated). It also appears on the single Pseudo-Byzantine coin in a hoard found at Soli in Cyprus (see Westholm 1940, p.137, no. 49).

initiative, with Ḥimṣ, Scythopolis, Diospolis and Jerusalem being the most likely candidates for the first mints. This was then followed by a move to central coordination in the second half of the 680s, perhaps shortly after the accession of ᶜAbd al-Malik. The bulk of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage was then issued over a period of five or more years before the introduction of the Standing Caliph coinage in about 690. A few varieties dealt with in this section may possibly have been contemporary with the Standing Caliph series, namely the mintless two- or three-figure coins with religious legends, as well as the final issues from Scythopolis. However, this proposed chronology must still be regarded as highly provisional.

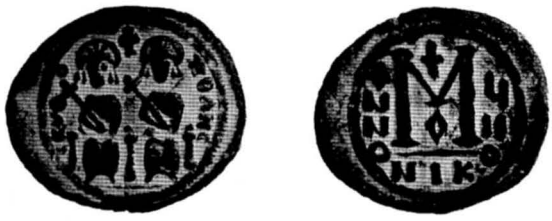
Since Walker's catalogue was published in 1956,[15] a number of new varieties have been recognised, as well as four new mints, ᶜAmmān, Jerusalem, Diospolis (Ludd) and Jerash (Gerasa).[16]

A complicating factor in the study of Umayyad Imperial Image coinage, first pointed out by Bates in 1994, is the existence of apparently "irregular" coins with blundered legends and badly executed or misunderstood images. In some cases this may be due to outright forgery, whilst in other cases it may be the result of a period of emergency production in an official mint using inadequately trained personnel.[17] However, a large group of "irregular" coins seem to be the product of a distinct "mint", which I have called the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint, and which presumably operated under some form of official sanction.

Obverse Images

Ten types of obverse image are found on Umayyad Imperial Image coinage, of which the last three are rather uncommon. These are listed below along with the mints which used them (types marked * are not represented in this catalogue).

I. Justin and Sophia — Two seated imperial figures holding globus crucigers, or a globus and a cruciform sceptre. This type is based quite closely on the Nikomedia follis of Justin II (MIB 46), minted 566-578.



Used at Baysān (Scythopolis) and Jerash (Gerasa), with very occasional examples from the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint.[18]

II. Seated Emperor — Enthroned imperial figure holding cruciform sceptre and globus cruciger, perhaps based very loosely on the Antioch folles (MIB 130) or decanummia (MIB 160) of Justinian I (527-565). Given that this image does not occur in the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, and that none of its possible prototypes would have been particularly common more than a century after their issue, it may be based on an image from a seal or some other non-numismatic source.

Used only at Damascus and the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint.

III. Three Standing Figures — Three standing imperial figures holding globus crucigers, the central figure usually slightly larger and occasionally bearded. Although this type is broadly similar to the common three-figure Pseudo-Byzantine coins, which initially copied the year 17 Heraclius follis of Cyprus, the left hand figure never has the characteristics of the empress Martina. These characteristics are always present on the prototype and sometimes on the imitations. It is therefore probable that the actual prototype here is the gold solidus of the later years of Heraclius's reign (MIB 44ff.), which show Heraclonas as an adult figure on the left (see Cat. 590).

Used at Ṭabariyya and possibly Baysān (see below under Mints), and also in a modified form for the mintless gold solidus.

IV. Two Standing Figures — Two standing imperial figures holding cruciform sceptres, with a globus cruciger sometimes appearing to left or right. There is no clear Byzantine prototype for this type. Walker concluded that the prototype was the Class 2 follis of Heraclius, but the figures on that coin are of different sizes and hold globus crucigers rather than cruciform sceptres. A non-numismatic source is a possibility, but we should probably regard it as a deliberately new image, based very loosely on the two-figure Pseudo-Byzantine coins.

(15) No new comprehensive catalogue has been published since Walker, but Harry Bone has recently produced a very comprehensive categorisation of both Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph coinage in an unpublished PhD dissertation entitled *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: the Evidence of the Copper Coins*. His results on metrology are quoted here, within the section on Chronology.

(16) Although not recognised as such by Walker, his coin G.1 (plate IX),from the Grierson collection, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is a good example of the mint of Jerash.

(17) A third possibility, suggested by Ilisch, is that some of them are the products of Pseudo-Byzantine "mints" operating in Jund Qinnasrīn. This Jund minted no "official" coinage until the start of the Standing Caliph series, but, if Ilisch is correct, the "mints" could presumably have operated under some form of official control (see Ilisch 2001b). The suggestion would also provide a reasonable explanation for the very rare mules with an obverse of one mint and reverse of another. The hypothesis could be tested by observing whether irregular coins were found more frequently in Jund Qinnasrīn than in the other Junds.

(18) See El Kholi 1993, p.506, no. 42 for a rare example from the Pseudo-Damascus mint.

Cat. 584

Used at Baalbek and Damascus.

V. Two Standing Figures with Cross-on-Steps between — As Type IV above, but the figures hold globus crucigers and have a cross-on-steps between them. Although the cross-on-steps reverse occurs frequently on Byzantine gold and silver coinage, and occasionally on copper, this image is unprecedented on the obverse in Byzantine coinage. However, it may possibly derive from the reverse of the gold solidi issued late in the reign of Constans II, which show two of his sons standing to either side of a cross-on-steps (e.g. MIB 29). The image is also particularly interesting in view of the later appearance of the "transformed cross-on-steps" on the reverse of the Standing Caliph coinage.

Cat. 583

Used only at Baalbek, but a very similar image, in which the cross-on-steps is replaced by part of the *shahāda* written vertically, appears on an extremely rare mintless issue (Walker Kh.1), illustrated below:

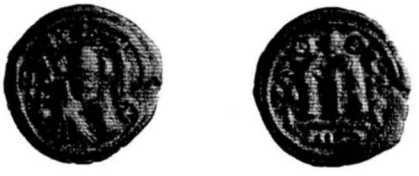
VI. Standing Emperor — Emperor standing, wearing a long robe, usually beardless, holding long cross and globus cruciger. This is the most common image and is clearly based on the Class 1 to 4 folles of Constans II (minted 641-648), although with changes in style, some of which had already occurred on some Pseudo-Byzantine coins.[19]

Cat. 560

(19) See section on Pseudo-Byzantine coins under "Types and Legends".

Used at Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Baalbek, Ṭabariyya, Diospolis, Jerusalem, the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint and the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint.

VII. Imperial Bust — Beardless bust facing, crowned, holding globus cruciger, and with prominent fibula on the right shoulder. Although this type could derive from the year 3 *inper const* folles of Constans II (MIB 166, minted 643/644), it is more likely a fairly close copy of a gold solidus of the same emperor (e.g., MIB 3 ff.).



Cat. 539

Used at Ḥimṣ and Ṭarṭūs.

VIII*. Two Figures, One Seated — Two imperial figures, apparently both holding a central long staff, left hand figure seated, right hand figure standing; there is no obvious Byzantine prototype. Apart from the central long staff which sometimes has a small cross-bar, all crosses are eliminated from this image.

(Qedar 1991, pl. 6, no. 18)

This rare type was used only at ᶜAmmān.[20]

IX. "Hunting Figure" — Single standing figure, wearing tunic tied at waist, holding long cross, with bird (falcon?) on arm; no obvious Byzantine prototype.

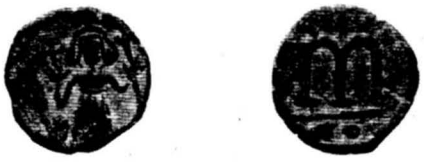
Used at the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint.[21]

X*. "Orans Figure" — Facing standing figure, with both arms raised; no obvious Byzantine numismatic prototype. All the known examples of this rare type are rather irregular

(20) A few Thesssalonika two-figure folles and half folles of Heraclius show the right hand figure seated instead of the left hand figure (MIB 219 and 228), but these are very different in appearance from the ᶜAmmān coins, and it is therefore rather unlikely that they served as prototypes for the latter.

(21) This type is discussed in detail and a number of examples are illustrated in Oddy 1991.

in style and can probably be assigned to the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint,[22] although one example has a clear Ṭabariyya reverse.[23]



(Qedar 1991, pl. 5, no. 8)

Reverse images

The reverse type for virtually all Umayyad Imperial Image copper coins is either (1) a capital **M**, used at all mints apart from the *al-wafā' lilllāh* mint, Diospolis and Jerusalem, or (2) a cursive **m** used at Ḥimṣ, Diospolis, Jerusalem, the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint, "Pseudo-Damascus" and a rare variety from Ṭabariyya. The only two exceptions are the gold solidus (cat. 607) and a rare mintless two-figure type (Walker Kh.1),[24] both of which have a transformed cross-on-steps, surmounted by a small globe rather than the more usual circle or ellipse (as on the Standing Caliph coppers). Given that both of these coins also bear full *shahāda* legends, it is possible that they are later issues, contemporary with the Standing Caliph coinage.

While the cursive **m** is always surmounted by a cross, the capital **M** sometimes has a monogram copied from the folles of Heraclius. Between the uprights of the **M** is an "officina" symbol.[25]

Legends

With minor exceptions, the legends on Umayyad Imperial Image coins are extremely simple, comprising one or more of the following:

- The mint name, in Greek or Arabic, or in some cases both.
- A declaration of the coin's validity, such as ΚΑΛΟΝ, *ṭayyib*, or *jā'iz*.
- A short religious formula, such as *bism Allāh* or *al-wafā' lillāh*.

It is worth noting that these broad categories are exactly the same as those for the countermarks described at the end of the section on Pseudo-Byzantine coinage.[26]

The exceptions to the above are the three-figure gold solidus, the mintless two-figure copper type (Walker Kh.1), both of which bear the *shahāda*, and a series of small module three-figure copper coins. This last group is also mintless, but is presumed to have been struck at Ṭabariyya; the coins bear the *shahāda* or other religious legends (see section on Ṭabariyya, p. 88).

In addition, at Damascus we find the frozen year 17 and the probably meaningless word ΛΕΟ, both ultimately derived from Byzantine coinage via the Pseudo-Byzantine coins.

The mints

At this early stage of Umayyad rule there is little documentary evidence for the administrative structure of Bilād al-Shām, and it is not certain whether something resembling the later Jund structure was in place or not.[27] The Umayyad Imperial Image coins do not follow the Jund structure quite so closely as the Standing Caliph coinage does, but some structure is apparent, and this could help to further our understanding of provincial administration in this formative period.

Apparently no Umayyad Imperial Image coins were issued in the **Jund Qinnasrīn**, and enough is known about the find spots of the mintless types to rule out their attribution to that Jund. It is, however, possible that some of the more distinctive Pseudo-Byzantine types, such as the Constantine IV bust (Type I) or the Constans II bust (Type G) with crescent and star, served as the equivalent coinage in this most northerly Jund. The situation in the four remaining Junds can be summarised as follows, arranged from north to south:

- **Jund Hims** (2 mints): This Jund is represented by two large emissions from Ḥimṣ itself, and two rare varieties from Ṭarṭūs, both of which are closely related to the second Ḥimṣ emission.
- **Jund Dimashq** (2 mints): The issues from the capital, Dimashq, are comparable with Ḥimṣ in size, but rather more complex in structure. The second mint, Baalbek, also produced quite large numbers of coins, and there are a number of affinities between Baalbek and Damascus, including examples of die-links. The third mint, ʿAmmān, was very small.
- **Jund al-Urdunn** (3 or more mints): Here there is very little resemblance between the coinage of Ṭabariyya and the larger module coins of Baysān and

(22) For example, Milstein 1991, plate 3, no. 156.

(23) See Coin Galleries, New York, auction catalogue of 14 April 1999, no. 452.

(24) Unfortunately, neither Walker nor Lane-Poole, in his publication of the Khedival collection, illustrated this coin. However, the coin has since been illustrated in Nicol, el-Nabarawy and Bacharach 1982 (no. 15). Another example can be found in the Spink/Zurich auction catalogue of 17 March 1987, no. 154. See also the illustration under Type V of the previous section (p. 83 above)

(25) Officina symbols, comprising Greek capital letters, are found in the same position on many Byzantine folles. Although not always meaningful, they seem to have indicated different workshops or teams within the mint. On Umayyad Imperial Image coins, letters and other symbols are used which generally seem to have little significance. However, on the small module issues of Ṭabariyya they are very varied and may be of some help in sorting out the sequence of varieties.

(26) Even the rather rare animal countermarks could be considered to have their successors in the bird-on-T at Damascus, the bull's head on some *al-wafā' lillāh* coins, and some officina symbols at Ṭabariyya.

(27) Bilād al-Shām was divided into four, and subsequently five, military administrative districts called Junds. See the discussion in the section on the Standing Caliph coinage under "mints" (p. 95), and the map on page 121.

Jerash, but all three mints seem to have taken a very independent approach to their coinage. There are also the coins of the *al-wafā' lilllāh* and the "Pseudo-Damascus" mints, which either originate from this Jund or just possibly from the adjacent Jund Filasṭīn.

- **Jund Filasṭīn** (2 mints, possibly more): Within this Jund we have only the rare coins of Jerusalem (Īliyā) and Ludd, which are quite similar to each other. It is, however, possible that the Standing Caliph coinage of Jerusalem first appeared whilst Umayyad Imperial Image coins were being produced elsewhere (see later sections on Standing Caliph Mints and Chronology).

Each mint will now be considered in more detail:

Ḥimṣ (Emesa) (cat. 531-558) — The volume of surviving coinage for Ḥimṣ is probably larger than for any other town during the period of Umayyad Imperial Image coinage; it is even slightly greater than that for the capital Damascus. Unlike all other towns considered here, there seem to have been two completely different minting operations at Ḥimṣ. These could either have been at separate locations or, more likely, at the same location, but with a change of personnel and practices between the two issues described below. The impression of two different minting operations, separated in location or time, is strengthened by the fact that there are no known transitional coins combining the characteristics of the two main issues. This is in marked contrast to the situation at Damascus, where there is more variety and where mules exist between virtually all the major types.

The first mint produced standing emperor coinage with a capital **M** reverse, comprising two main varieties. In one variety, the obverse has only the Greek legend KAΛON, and in the more common second variety (cat. 531 ff.) this is supplemented by the phrase *bism Allāh* (بسم الله, "in the name of God").[28] The reverses have the mint name written EMH and CIC to the left and right of the **M** and the word *ṭayyib* (طيب, "good") in the exergue. There are a number of subvarieties with different combinations of crescents, stars and pellets on the reverse. Standards of die engraving are generally rather poor, and the style of the standing figures resembles that of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage more closely than at any other major mint. Legends are often blundered and flans are frequently rather irregular in shape.

The second mint produced imperial bust coinage with a cursive **m** reverse, consisting of two main varieties. One variety, which is rare, has only the Greek word KAΛON on the obverse,[29] whilst the usual variety (cat. 538 ff.) also has the mint name in Arabic, *bi-ḥimṣ* (بحمص, "in Ḥimṣ"). The reverses have the mint name written EMI-CIC (rather than EMH-CIC) to the left and right of the **m** and the Arabic word *ṭayyib* in the exergue, as at the first mint. There are many different combinations of symbols, such as pellets and stars, on the obverse before and after the word *bi-ḥimṣ*, and the reverse has three different types of symbol either side of a star above the **m**. Two reverse dies also have a dumbbell shaped ornament (cat. 538) below the exergual inscription. In marked contrast to the first mint, standards of production are the highest of any Umayyad Imperial Image mint, with a very uniform standard of die engraving, well shaped flans, and the fairly general use of a 6h die axis. On the main series of coins, legends are never blundered, but there are a number of lightweight irregular coins of unusual style which have blundered legends (cat. 555 ff.). These may be contemporary forgeries, or perhaps they represent the output from the mint during a period of emergency.[30]

If, as seems likely, the two mints of Ḥimṣ succeeded each other at the same location, it is absolutely certain that the standing emperor issue was the earliest of the two, with perhaps a break before minting resumed with the imperial bust issue. However, if the two varieties were produced at different locations, the order is still certain, although there could have been some slight overlap between the two varieties. The main reasons for arriving at this conclusion are the following:

- The closeness in style and fabric of the standing emperor mint (the first mint) to the earlier Pseudo-Byzantine coinage.[31]
- Unlike the imperial bust coins (the second mint), the standing emperor coins are sometimes found countermarked with at least two types of countermarks which also appear on Pseudo-Byzantine coins (see Goodwin 2000).
- The imperial bust coins are occasionally found overstruck on the standing emperor type, as well as a number of other Arab-Byzantine coins, but not vice versa.
- The imperial bust variety often occurs as an undertype for post-reform fulūs, but the standing emperor variety is seldom found overstruck by post-reform coins, indicating that it was no longer

(28) Although relatively common, the first variety is neither in the Ashmolean or Shamma collection, nor in Walker's catalogue. It is Type 2.2 in Ilisch 1980, which contains a comprehensive review of the output of copper coinage at Ḥimṣ from the Arab-Byzantine through the ᶜAbbāsid periods (however, note that his Type 1 is no longer considered a product of Ḥimṣ).

(29) Not in the Ashmolean or Shamma collection, nor in Walker. For an illustration, see Oddy 1987, plate XII, no. 1. Oddy's article deals with the imperial bust variety at Ḥimṣ in some detail, and tabulates the various combinations of symbols found on the coinage.

(30) I know of two examples of an irregular Ḥimṣ bust obverse coupled with a slightly blundered Damascus Type 2 reverse. One example is in the Tübingen collection (no. LI 185) and the other, struck from the same pair of dies is in a private collection. The existence of this unexpected combination adds to the likelihood that all the irregular Ḥimṣ coins are not the product of the official mint. Lutz Ilisch has suggested to me that such coins could have been produced in Jund Qinnasrīn by semi-official mints which were also producing Pseudo-Byzantine coins. More information on find spots is needed to test this hypothesis.

(31) I know of two coins in private collections with a standing emperor obverse which has a blundered EN TOUTO NIKA legend and an Emesa reverse with capital **M** (see Goodwin 1995, no. 14). Conceivably these could be transitional issues between Pseudo-Byzantine and the earliest Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Ḥimṣ/Emesa. However, the reverses are slightly blundered, which would not be expected for the earliest reverse dies. It is therefore more likely these "transitional" coins are not products of the regular mint.

circulating extensively by the time the reform occurred.[32]

Ḥimṣ is the only mint apart from Damascus to have produced silver coinage of the Arab-Sasanian type, dated AH 72, although this is only represented by a unique example in the Shamma collection (cat. 305).

Ṭarṭūs (Antaradus) (cat. 559) — The rare coinage of this mint uses an imperial bust obverse, which is broadly similar to the second issue of Ḥimṣ, though of rather distinctive style. On one variety (cat. 559), the word KAΛWN also appears along with the mint name in Arabic, written as طردوس (*ṭardūs*) rather than the normal form طرطوس (*ṭarṭūs*). The reverse has a capital **M** with the mint name in Greek and *ṭayyib* in the exergue. A second variety has *ṭayyib* on the obverse, and appears to have the mint name in monogrammatic form on the reverse (see Miles 1959, no. 7).

Dimashq (Damascus) (cat. 560-576)— The volume of surviving coinage from the Umayyad capital is comparable with that of Ḥimṣ and its structure is by far the most complex of any mint. The situation is further complicated by a series of stylistically innovative coins loosely based on Damascus types (see "Pseudo-Damascus" mint below), plus quite a number of rather crude lightweight coins which may be irregular, or may reflect a period of emergency minting. There are five main types of the obverse:

Obv. a: Type VI standing emperor with the word ΛEO to the right, and a symbol above a T to the left (cat. 560). The symbol is usually either a bird or a palm frond, but a star within crescent and a fleur-de-lis also occur, plus one or two enigmatic symbols which are probably blundered versions of the four listed.

Obv. b: Type VI standing emperor with ΔAMACKOC to the right and bird-on-T to the left (cat. 566).

Obv. c: Type VI standing emperor of unusual style, often without legend or symbols, but sometimes with rather garbled versions of those on types **a** and **b** (cat. 564).

Obv. d: Type IV two figures holding cruciform sceptres, with no legend (cat. 574).

Obv. e: Type II seated emperor with ΛEO to the right and bird-on-T to the left (Walker 4).

There are three main types of reverse, all with a capital **M**, with a monogram (or occasionally a cross) above, and various "officina" symbols:

Rev. 1 Graeco-Latin ANO to the left, XYII (17) to the right, and ΔAM in the exergue (cat. 560).

Rev. 2 Arabic *jā'iz* (جائز) to the left, *ḍarb* (ضرب) to the right, and *dimashq* (دمشق) in the exergue (cat. 566).

Rev. 3 Arabic *jāza hādha* (جاز هذا) to the left, *dimashq* to the right, and *wafiya* (وفي – sic) in the exergue (cat. 564).

(32) This observation was first made by Ilisch 1980, and in my own studies of overstrikes I have recorded details of six instances of post-reform fulūs overstruck on Ḥimṣ imperial bust coppers, but none on the standing emperor variety. However, one example of a standing emperor coin overstruck by a post-reform fals was published in Qedar 1984, no. 45. This coin was from a hoard found near Gazza, well away from Ḥimṣ itself.

Although the standing emperor types predominate (particularly type **a**), none of them is uncommon. However, they are normally found in particular obverse/reverse combinations, namely **a1**, **a2**, **b2**, **c3**, **d2**, and **e1**. In addition, the following rare "mules" are known, and others may well be discovered: **b1**, **b3**, **c2**, **d1**, and **e2**.[33]

Finally, to make matters even more complicated there are die-links between a type **d** obverse (two standing figures) and a reverse of Baalbek (see below), and rare examples of Ḥimṣ/Damascus and Damascus/Ṭabariyya mules.[34]

Can we produce order out of all this complexity? A complete picture is unlikely to emerge without a comprehensive die study, which has not yet been attempted, so far as I know. However, some provisional conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the degree of muling strongly suggests that several different varieties were produced concurrently. This is not to say that they necessarily started and finished at the same time, but that there was at least considerable overlapping; this is certainly true of the varieties with reverses **1** and **2**. The best candidate for the earliest is obverse type **e**, the seated emperor. It is the least common obverse and is always well engraved and produced; it is known to have been overstruck by an imperial bust type of Ḥimṣ, and I have not seen any examples overstruck on other Umayyad Imperial Image coins.[35] Another variety which may be relatively early is the standing emperor obverse **c** with the *jāza hādha dimashq wafiya* reverse **3**. This coin is often found overstruck by other varieties of Damascus and of Baalbek. It may therefore have been an issue which was withdrawn for some reason. The two-figure type **d** could well have been the last to be produced. These coins are small, rather poorly produced, and I have not found them as undertypes on any other Umayyad Imperial Image coins. They also die-link with coins of Baalbek which were produced after the main emission from that mint (see "Baalbek" below).

Damascus also minted a few rare examples of Arab-Sasanian silver, including examples dated AH 72 (cat. 278), AH 73 (cat. 279) and AH 74.

(33) Although the foregoing paragraphs cover the main varieties of Damascus, there are at least two other rare varieties which are only known from single pairs of dies. The first of these is represented in this catalogue (no. 563) and has a standing emperor obverse with the legend KAΛON either side, coupled with a Type 1 reverse. There is also an example in the Israel Museum (no. 4672) and I am aware of two others in private collections. The second is only known from a single example in the Barber Institute, Birmingham (AB-26), and has a three-figure obverse, very reminiscent of Ṭabariyya, coupled with a Type 2 reverse. The reverse legends of both these varieties are rather blundered, and they may well be the product of an irregular mint.

(34) Two examples are known of a Ḥimṣ/Damascus mule with an imperial bust obverse and a Type 2 Damascus reverse. Both dies look irregular. One example is in the Tübingen collection and the other in a private collection. Lutz Ilisch has suggested to me that such irregular coins could perhaps have been produced in semi-official mints in Jund Qinnasrīn which also produced Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. The so far unique example of a Type b Damascus obverse coupled with a Ṭabariyya reverse is unpublished (included in the sale of the Slocum collection, Sotheby, 14 October 1999, lot 226). See footnote 44.

(35) See Goodwin 2001, Cat. 24. More details will be found in the section on Chronology.

The "Pseudo-Damascus" Mint (not precisely located) (cat. 577-582) — Some of the mintless coins published by Walker under "Uncertain and Probable Arab-Byzantine" coinage (e.g., his ASK.2 and ASK.8) are characterised by an elaborate and decorative style, often with pellets, stars, crosses and other ornaments scattered in the obverse and reverse fields. These characteristics are shared by other coins apparently from the mint of Damascus (e.g., Walker 5). With the publication by Milstein in 1991 of a much larger body of coins, all believed to be from a single hoard (the so-called "Irbid hoard"), the situation became clearer.[36] It is now apparent that we are dealing here with a "mint" which produced quite a large number of dies, often of high artistic standard, some of which have blundered Damascus mint marks. The output of this "mint" has not yet been fully analysed and it is not always clear whether or not a particular irregular coin should be included, or indeed whether there was in fact more than one "mint" producing this series. Nevertheless, I believe that around half the coins published by Milstein and a number of coins in the collections (cat. 577 ff.) can provisionally be attributed to a single mint, mainly on grounds of style.

The main types of obverse are a Type II seated emperor (cat. 577), a Type VI standing emperor (cat. 578), and a Type IX "hunting" figure (cat. 582), although other types occur occasionally. The few known coins with a Type X "orans" figure may well be from this mint. The die engravers indulged in considerable stylistic innovation with these figures; the seated emperor sometimes appears to be squatting rather than sitting as in the original, and a variant of the standing emperor has long hair and a beard. However, the most interesting type is the "hunting" figure discussed in detail by Oddy in 1991. The figure is a long way from any Byzantine prototype and appears to have a bird perched on its arm. Oddy plausibly suggested that this was an image of falconry, which is likely to have been practised by the Umayyad caliphs from their hunting lodges along the desert fringe. The reverses have either an elaborately decorated cursive **m** or a capital **M**, often with a blundered Damascus mintmark in the exergue.

The products of this mint have been the subject of considerable debate—and not a little confusion—over the years, some of them being considered as transitional issues between Pseudo-Byzantine and Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. However, as Bates has clearly pointed out (Bates 1994), their derivative nature must place them later than the start of the official coinage of Damascus. He suggested that they may be as late as the early 8th century (after AH 80, thus contemporary with the post-reform coinage), but as Treadwell has pointed out (2000, p.9), this late dating is problematic for a number of reasons, most notably the apparent lack of Standing Caliph coins in the Irbid hoard. On balance, the "Pseudo-Damascus" coins are probably best regarded as roughly contemporary with the later Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. The question of what sort of a mint produced these coins is difficult to answer in our present state of knowledge. The elaborate nature of the coins rules out the possibility of contemporary forgery, and also makes some form of emergency issue very unlikely. Oddy suggested that the falconry coins might be the product of a travelling mint accompanying the caliph, and whilst this is possible, I know of no other instance of copper coins being produced under these circumstances.

The case for regarding this group of coins as the product of an official mint is less compelling than for the *al-wafā' lillāh* coins described below. However, on balance, some form of officially sanctioned southern mint situated east of the Jordan, in the Jund of al-Urdunn, where most of these coins appear to be found, seems the most likely source of the "Pseudo-Damascus" coins.

Baalbek (Baʿlbakk, Heliopolis) (cat. 583-586) — Judging by the volume of surviving examples and the number of known dies, the output from Baalbek was exceeded only by Damascus and Ḥimṣ.[37] There are three main types of obverse design: a rather rare standing emperor Type VI (Walker 6), a normal two-figure Type IV (cat. 584 ff.) and a two-figure Type V with cross-on-steps between the two figures (cat. 583). With one minor exception (see below), there are no obverse legends, but there are a number of minor variations in the use of crosses and globus crucigers.

There is only one basic type of reverse, with a capital **M**, the Greek mint name ΗΛΙΟV – ΠΟΛϵ divided between the left and right side of the **M** (often slightly blundered), and *baʿlbakk* (بعلبك) in Arabic in the exergue. A number of "officina" variants also occur.

Generally speaking, the coins of Baalbek are quite well engraved, and well struck on neat round flans. Overall standards are rather better than at Damascus and almost up to those of the imperial bust mint at Ḥimṣ (second mint). Unlike these two mints there seem to be no significant number of lightweight irregular coins. Die studies have revealed a link via one reverse die between the two types of two-figure obverse dies. The Type V obverse is rather less common and is generally struck on slightly larger diameter flans than the Type IV. As the larger coin is likely to be the earlier one, it is probable that the Type V obverse preceded the Type IV, but this cannot be regarded as certain. Perhaps this overtly Christian symbol was considered unsuitable and replaced at an early stage. Die studies have also revealed that, after the main emission from Baalbek, a group of coins was produced which had a number of affinities with Damascus, such as the use of the word ΛΕΟ on one obverse die. Two obverse dies from this group are found in combination with reverses from Damascus, and it is possible that the mint was moved

(36) Milstein 1991. The 158 coins were divided by Milstein into two groups. Group A, comprising 51 coins without mintmark, and Group B, comprising 107 coins with the mintmark of Damascus. Milstein argued that all the coins were the product of the Damascus mint, but in fact the first group is largely from the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint and the second from the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint (including some without a mintmark), with a few apparently official Damascus issues included. Bates (1994) was the first to point out the flaws in Milstein's arguments, and also pointed out that a number of coins, previously considered as regular Damascus issues, must be irregular. Since then Treadwell (2000) has reviewed Milstein's data and shown that no die links can actually be confirmed between "regular" and "irregular" coins within Milstein's Group B.

(37) See the section on Chronology under "Die Studies". The provisional results of a die study were presented to the 2000 Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table: 46 obverse and 70 reverse dies have been identified.

from Baalbek to Damascus towards the end of the Umayyad Imperial Image period.[38]

ᶜAmmān (Philadelphia) (not in collection) — The rare coins of ᶜAmmān only came to light in the 1950s.[39] They are of very distinctive style, thus tending to confirm that during this period ᶜAmmān was not administratively closely linked to Damascus. The obverse image is the two-figure Type VIII with one figure seated and the other standing, while the reverse has a capital **M**, around which is the legend هذا ضرب عمان (*hadhā ḍarb ᶜammān*, "this struck in ᶜAmmān").

Ṭabariyya (Tiberias) (cat. 587-593) — This mint town became the capital of Jund al-Urdunn at some stage during the early Umayyad period, replacing Scythopolis (Baysān), the old capital of the Roman province Palaestina II. Whether or not that change took place before the issue of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage is unclear, but judging by the volume and relative complexity of its coinage, Ṭabariyya must have been a place of some importance at this time. The following main varieties of coins were issued:

1 Obverse: Type VI (standing emperor) sometimes with a bird (?) on T to the left and with a usually blundered or incomplete legend TIBEPIAΔOC. Reverse: cursive **m** with a blundered legend, which seems to incorporate the word KAΛON (not in collection).[40]

2 Obverse: Type III (three standing figures) with no legends.[41] Reverse: Capital **M**, with monogram above and a variety of "officina" symbols; mint name in Greek and Arabic (cat. 587 ff.).[42]

3 Obverse: Type VI (standing emperor), sometimes with bird-on-T to left. Reverse as variety **2** above (not in collection, Walker P.4)

The following five varieties are all of small module and have the same three-figure obverse as type **2** above. The reverse comprises a capital **M** with a legend around, which in most cases does not include the Ṭabariyya mint name. Only the reverse legend is noted in the description.

4 Legend محمد رسول الله (*muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, "Muḥammad is the messenger of God") (not in collection, Walker 52).

5 Legend لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له (*lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu*. "there is no deity but God alone; he has no associates") (cat. 593).

6 Legend الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد (*allāh aḥad allāh al-ṣamad lam yalid*, "God is one; God is eternal: He did not beget") (not in collection, Ilisch 1993, no. 283).

7 Legend in Greek and Arabic: To left, facing downward, Greek THB; to right, downwards, Arabic طبرية (*ṭabariyya*); in exergue, an uncertain Arabic word that appears to be قطرى (*quṭra?*, perhaps meaning "district") (cat. 592).

8 Legend فلس الحق ببيسن (*fals al-ḥaqq bi-baysān*, "legal fals of (?)Baysān") (not in collection)[43].

Variety **1** is rare and very different in fabric from the other varieties, being generally struck on thick flans of rather poor metal. The all-Greek legends and cursive **m** reverse are similar to the equally rare coins of Diospolis and Jerusalem, and it may be an early type. However, the bird-on-T also suggests derivation from the coinage of Damascus and the coins may be irregular.

The rest of the coins form a fairly coherent series, and it is clear that Variety **2** precedes the others. It is by far the most common and appears in a wider range of diameters than any other Umayyad Imperial Image coin. Of these, the well produced coins of up to 30mm in diameter are almost certainly the earliest issues. The smallest coins are around half this size, as are all the other three-figure varieties (nos. 4-8).

The other standing emperor variety (no. **3**) is also rather rare, and is clearly not related to the first variety, being of very different fabric and style. At least one known reverse is irregular, but most of the reverses are identical to those of variety **2**.[44]

The remaining small module three-figure coins form an extremely interesting series. Type **4** and **5** are very unusual instances in the Umayyad Imperial Image series of the lengthy religious formulae which appear on the Standing Caliph coinage, while the legend of type **6** is only otherwise known in the post-reform coinage. Phillips has tentatively suggested that these issues could therefore be contemporary with the Standing Caliph issues at other mints.[45] This is an attractive idea, as it would neatly fill

(38) Goodwin, paper presented to the 2000 Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table, as yet unpublished.

(39) First published by Miles 1959, no. 10. Another and better specimen is illustrated in Qedar 1991, plate 6, no. 18.

(40) These coins have been known since the mid-19th century, and a number of early line drawings are reproduced in Walker (pp. 46-47). The generally accepted readings of both obverse and reverse legends were first suggested by Meshorer in 1966. The series has been revisited more recently by Charles Karukstis in an unpublished paper presented at the 1999 ANS Arab-Byzantine Forum. Karukstis gave details of nine known specimens and showed that the majority of them have very incomplete or barbarous legends.

(41) One otherwise normal example seen in a private collection has a word which appears to read *ṭayyib*, written downwards to the right of the right hand figure.

(42) A variant reverse legend, known from a single example in a private collection, has the additional word *ḍarb* to the right of the **M** and *ṭabariyya* in the exergue.

(43) See Hess auction catalogue 255, 18 September 1984, lot 4. This reading of the legend was proposed by Qedar, but Ilisch (2001a) has plausibly suggested that it may be intended to read *fals bi-baysān*, with *al-ḥaqq* ("the truth") in the exergue.

(44) There is also the puzzle presented by an unpublished coin from the Slocum collection (Sotheby auction, 14 October 1999, part of lot 226). This has a standing emperor obverse with the mint name ΔAMACKOC, and a normal Ṭabariyya reverse. Both dies look regular, although the obverse figure is a little wider and shorter than is normal for this Damascus variety. The coin could either be regarded as irregular or may be evidence of a Damascus die being "borrowed", perhaps at the time when a decision was taken at Ṭabariyya to standardise on a small module in line with most other Arab-Byzantine mints.

(45) In an unpublished paper presented to the Seventh Century Syrian

the present gap in the Standing Caliph series for Jund al-Urdunn. Variety **7** contains an enigmatic word in the exergue, which Ilisch (1993, p.287) has suggested may read قطري (*qaṭarī*), presumably referring to the Khārijite rebel Qaṭarī b. Fujā'a, whose well-known silver coins from Iranian mints are also published in this volume. However, there is no evidence of the Khārijites having control of any part of Syria, and there is no suitable known person bearing the same name. Qedar's reading as *quṭrā*, "district", is therefore more plausible, but by no means conclusive.[46] Finally, the last variety (no. **8**) has a legend which appears to read *fals al-ḥaqq bi-baysān*, suggesting that it was produced for circulation in Baysān (Scythopolis), perhaps following on from the transfer of the provincial capital from there to Ṭabariyya (see Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999, p.138). Again this is plausible, but it has to be said that the phrase *bi-baysān* comprising six vertical strokes could be susceptible to other readings.

Clearly, more research is required into these interesting coins, with the potential of throwing light both on administrative structure and on the development of religious propaganda.

Baysān (Scythopolis, Beth Shean) (cat. 594) — The mints of Scythopolis and Jerash form an entirely separate group from the other Umayyad Imperial Image mints. They issued heavy large module coins, quite closely based on the folles of Justin II, which for reasons unknown seem to still have been in circulation in this area after the conquest, and not to have been replaced by the smaller coins of Heraclius and Constans II, as happened elsewhere. The main variety (cat. 594) comprises a Type I obverse with Justin and Sophia both holding cruciform sceptres and the mint name CKYΘOΠOΛHC written in Greek. The reverse has a capital **M** with a NIKO (Nikomedia) mintmark and usually a frozen date YII (7). There are quite a number of minor varieties of the reverse, including a very rare one with the mint name in Arabic (بيسن) in the exergue (Walker Bel.2).

Scythopolis/Baysān is unique among Arab-Byzantine mints in producing what appears to be a second denomination based on a Byzantine half follis. This coin is about half the size of the main issue and has a similar, but more stylised obverse; the reverse comprises a large **K** with the mint name written in Arabic (Oddy 1994, no. 11). A second and rarer variety of the half follis is rather larger and has a long cross between the two obverse figures (Oddy 1994, no. 9).

The dates of the Scythopolis coins have generated a certain amount of controversy, with Grierson (1982) at one extreme suggesting a date early in the seventh century during the Persian occupations, and Bates and Kovacs (1996) at the other extreme, placing them in the 690s. However, the first possibility is ruled out by the existence of at least two Scythopolis coins overstruck on Umayyad Imperial Image three-figure coins of Ṭabariyya (Oddy 1994, no. 18, and Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999, no. B1a). The second possibility is supported by an overstrike in the collection of the Studium Biblium Franciscorum in Jerusalem which has a Scythopolis coin apparently overstruck on a Standing Caliph which is not a Jund Filasṭīn type (Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999, no. A8a). It is therefore probable that, like Ṭabariyya, Scythopolis continued to produce Umayyad Imperial Image coins after the Standing Caliph type was introduced elsewhere. However, the all-Greek legends and the fact that they must have preceded the Diospolis issue (see below), makes it quite likely that they were one of the first Umayyad Imperial Image coins to be introduced. The Justin and Sophia type may therefore have had an unusually long life, which is not implausible in a locality which had insular and conservative requirements for copper coinage. Minting may have been intermittent as the supply of coinage was probably continuously topped up by the informal import of stray Justin and Sophia Byzantine coins from elsewhere in Bilād al-Shām. Intermittent minting is supported by the existence of two distinct peaks in the weight distribution of the Scythopolis coins with **M** reverse, a phenomenon which does not occur at other mints (see Chronology section, "Metrology").

Jerash (Jarash, Gerasa) (not in collection) — The rather rare coins of Jerash are generally similar to those of Scythopolis, but of generally cruder style.[47] The obverse is distinguished by the replacement of one of the cruciform sceptres by a globus (as on the Byzantine prototype), and the replacement of the cross between the figures by a star. The mint name, ΓEPACON written in Greek, is almost always blundered. The obverse is often stamped with a large countermark consisting of the Arabic word *ṭayyib*, also found occasionally at Scythopolis. Reverses are also usually blundered and often retrograde.

The mints of Baysān and Jerash are clearly closely related and one possible reverse die-link is known between the two (Oddy 1994, p. 417, nos. 12, 13 and 14), but the Jerash mint seems to have been very much subordinate, as the Scythopolis coins predominate at Jerash itself, whereas Jerash coins are only rarely found at Scythopolis/Baysān.[48]

Ludd (Diospolis) (not in collection) — This mint is represented by a single rare variety, with only two obverse and two reverse dies known at present. The obverse has a type VI standing emperor, the style of which is quite close to the Byzantine original, with the mint name ΔIOCΠOΛHC written in Greek around the margin. The reverse has a cursive **m** with a NIKO (Nikomedia) mintmark and frozen year YII (7).[49]

Numismatic Round Table in 2000.

(46) Ilisch (2001a) has recently defended his reading, pointing out that there are very few historical sources, other than the coins, referring to the situation in Jund al-Urdunn in this period, and that the reading as "district" is not attested elsewhere.

(47) First published by Shamma 1980. Examples can be found in Walker (G.1 and A.7), Oddy 1994 (no. 7) and Bates and Kovacs 1996 (plate 34). The most up-to-date reviews of the mints of Scythopolis and Jerash will be found in Oddy 1994 and Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999.

(48) Unusually for an Arab-Byzantine mint town we have good excavation evidence for Jerash, first published in Bellinger 1938, and more recently in Marot 1998 and Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999.

(49) Not in the collection or in Walker, the Diospolis coins were first published by Qedar in 1984. See also Qedar, 1991, plate 5, no. 13, and Album, pricelist no. 168 (March 2001), no. 67.

The style and fabric of the coins, which are very reminiscent of the standing emperor type of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, and the all-Greek legends are both suggestive of an early issue. However, it must postdate the start of the Scythopolis coins because the mintmark and frozen date clearly both derive from those.[50] It seems quite probable that the Diospolis coins were issued before the main emissions of Umayyad Imperial Image coins and represented something of an experiment. In view of their rarity, they may have been discontinued after quite a short period. It is possible that they were then superseded by the use of the countermarks *ludd* or *bi-ludd*, which are quite common.

Iliyā (Jerusalem) (not in collection) — Like Ludd, Jerusalem only produced one rare variety, which is similar in having a Type VI standing emperor obverse and a cursive **m** reverse. The legend is in Greek, arranged in three sections around the reverse **m**, IEPO-COΛH-MWN, which has been read as "of the people of Jerusalem". These coins, which were recognised only in the 1980s,[51] are struck on irregular flans and closely resemble pseudo-Byzantine coins. Like the coins of Ludd, they are quite likely to be early issues.

It is possible that the Standing Caliph coinage started earlier here than at mints in other Junds; this will be considered in the section on Standing Caliph mints and would perhaps explain the rarity of the Umayyad Imperial Image coins from this mint.

The *al-wafā' lillāh* mint (unlocated) (cat. 595-604) — These coins represent the largest group of Umayyad Imperial Image coins with no mint name, and the fact that the ten examples in the Ashmolean collection include no duplicate dies indicates that this is quite a large issue. A large number of these coins were published by Milstein (1991), who also carried out die studies which confirm the extensive nature of the issue.[52] It comprises a single variety, but with numerous minor variations. The obverse is a Type VI standing emperor, usually with no legend, but sometimes with the legend الوفا لله (*al-wafā' lillāh,* "Loyalty to God") to the left. The reverse has a cursive **m**, often with pellets or other decorations between the uprights, and a variety of symbols on either side, with *al-wafā' lillāh* in the exergue. The coins are struck on rather small, quite thick and reasonably well prepared flans. The coins therefore have all the normal characteristics of regular Umayyad Imperial Image coins except for a mintmark, and so it seems reasonable to regard them as the product of an official mint, albeit unidentified.

Milstein also noted die-links to a number of coins which, whilst otherwise similar in general style and fabric, did not have the *al-wafā' lillāh* legend. Unfortunately, none of these were illustrated to confirm these die-links, but a few coins certainly do exist which lack the legend, but which could be a product of the same mint (e.g., cat. 605). The *al-wafā' lillāh* coins seem to be found largely in the southern part of the Bilād al-Shām, but there is not yet sufficient evidence of findspots to suggest a mint town.

Two pieces of evidence point tentatively to a relatively early date. First, the lack of a mint name may indicate that they were produced before the coinage was centrally coordinated, and secondly, they are occasionally found stamped with countermarks which are also found on Pseudo-Byzantine coins.

The pellets and other decorations between the uprights of the **m** were later adopted by the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint, and this may indicate a location in the same general geographical area for the two mints. However, the distinction between the two mints, which was blurred in Milstein's article, is very clear.

Other Mintless Coins — No other major group of mintless Umayyad Imperial Image coins exists, but two other small groups, which may well be the products of separate mints, are worthy of mention. Neither of these are represented in the collection. The first (Walker 140 and ANS.6) comprises a crude Type VI standing emperor obverse and a cursive **m** reverse, and is always struck on a distinctive squarish flan. The legends in Arabic comprise the word محمد (*muḥammad*) and an uncertain word which has been read by Qedar as بعد (*baᶜd*, "district"). These words occur interchangeably to the left of the standing figure on the obverse and in the exergue on the reverse.[53]

The second issue (Walker Kh.1) is very rare and comprises a two-figure obverse with the *shahāda* around. Uniquely, the final phrase of the *shahāda*, *muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, is written vertically between the two figures. The reverse normally has a transformed cross-on-steps surmounted by a small globe, and very similar to that on the gold solidus described in the next section.[54] There are two stars on either side, and the *shahāda* around. These interesting coins are very well produced and bear no close stylistic resemblance to the coins from any other mint.

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(50) The derivation cannot be the other way around (i.e. Scythopolis from Diospolis), as there is no precedent for these features on either the coinage of Constans II or the Pseudo-Byzantine coins copying his issues. It does, however, occur on the Justin II folles which were widely used at Scythopolis/ Jerash, prior to the introduction of the local Umayyad Imperial Image coins.

(51) Not in Walker, these coins were first published in the Spink (Zürich) sale catalogue 20 May 1989, no. 189. See also Qedar 1991, plate 6, no. 16.

(52) Charles Karukstis presented an as yet unpublished survey of these coins to the 1997 ANS Arab-Byzantine Forum in which he illustrated 23 different coins. The group contained only one die-link. The *al-wafā' lillāh* coins from the Irbid hoard published in Milstein 1991 are also discussed in Treadwell 2000 (pp.6 ff.).

(53) The types illustrated by Walker are in rather poor condition. A much better example can be found in the Vecchi auction catalogue of 5 March 1997, lot 1292. Heidemann 1998 illustrates a similar coin which has a legend to the right of the standing figure which appears to read سعيد (*saᶜīd*).

(54) The example from the Khedival collection rather poorly illustrated in Nicol, el-Nabarawy and Bacharach 1982 (no. 15) appears to have a normal transformed cross-on-steps with a circle rather than a globe; however, two specimens in a private collection in Britain, from two different reverse dies, clearly lack the circle.

Stephen Album has suggested to me that the adoption of two different types of cross-on-steps for gold and copper may have been intended to lessen the chances of gold-plated Standing Caliph copper fulūs being passed off as a Standing Caliph gold dinar. If this was the case it might explain the change from the "gold" type of cross-on-steps to the normal "copper" one (circle or ellipse) on this unusual two-figure coin.

They probably represent an experimental issue from around the time of the introduction of the Standing Caliph coinage.

The gold solidi

All pre-reform gold coinage is very rare, and probably never constituted a significant part of the gold coinage in circulation. The first possible candidates for a gold coinage produced under Arab authority are a number of irregular coins imitating solidi of Phocas and the two- or three-figure solidi of Heraclius, in which the horizontal elements have been eliminated from some or all the crosses in the design.[55] The collection includes an example of the three-figure type (cat. 606), which is quite a close copy of a Heraclius solidus of Constantinople (MIB 44), but with all cross bars removed, except for vestigial ones on the globus crucigers. The British Museum example (Walker 54) is further from the original, with no cross bars at all and the letters I B either side of the transformed cross, a feature which is continued on the Umayyad Imperial Image solidus described below. The "de-Christianising" of the design strongly suggests a Muslim origin for these coins, but very few are provenanced. Miles (1967) illustrated a two-figure example which was said to have been found with 65 regular Byzantine coins, the latest of which was of Constantine IV (668-685), at Daphne near Antioch, but another two-figure example was found in Bosnia.[56] Extreme caution is necessary in assessing these coins as a number of the published examples look very much like regular Byzantine solidi, apart from the removal of cross bars. The removal of cross bars in modern times on an existing coin could be very difficult to detect if carried out by a skilled forger. The modern mutilation of genuine irregular solidi, which bear normal crosses and are not uncommon, is also a possibility. However, on balance, I believe it is reasonable to regard at least some of the coins as originating in Bilād al-Shām, but whether as a local initiative or under central authority is impossible to say with our present state of knowledge. It is, however, just possible that some of these coins are the ones referrred to in a near contemporary Syriac source which reports for the year 661 AD that Muᶜāwiya, the first Umayyad caliph, minted gold and silver coins, but that the population did not accept them because of the lack of a cross on them.[57]

Whilst the types just considered are properly classified as Pseudo-Byzantine, there is one type of true Umayyad Imperial Image solidus which is undoubtedly the product of an official mint. These very rare coins are represented by an excellent example in the collection (cat. 607). The obverse is clearly derived from the normal three-figure type, but has been quite extensively modified in an attempt to produce an Islamic image. The headgear of the figures resembles a flat cap, and the robes are somewhat modified from the prototype, with the result that the vestiges of the globus are now no more than a pellet on the edge of the robe. The reverse comprises a transformed cross-on-steps, surmounted by a small globe, with the letters B and I to either side; around appears the *shahāda* in Arabic. This type of transformed cross-on-steps is unusual, and, although found on some North African coins, the only other examples from Bilād al-Shām are the rare mintless copper type described in the previous section (Walker Kh.1) and the gold Standing Caliph coins. The few known specimens are from well-engraved dies with correctly written Arabic legends. These coins have generally been dated to just before the first date Standing Caliph gold of 74 AH, and this fits in well with a period of experimentation to find acceptable Islamic images for the coinage, which includes the two Syrian Arab-Sasanian types dealt with in the section on Arab-Sasanian coinage.[58]

Standing Caliph coinage

General comments

With the introduction of the Standing Caliph coinage, probably in the early 690s (AH 70s), we have for the first time fully Islamic images and legends, plus a greater degree of standardisation across mints. The name of the ruler, ᶜAbd al-Malik (685-705/65-86) also appears on the coins, although not on all of them. The coins were produced at 18 known mints in Bilād al-Shām, a greater number than for the previous phase, and including for the first time mints in Jund Qinnasrīn. Stylistic similarities between the mints seem to closely follow the Jund structure as far as it is known, and may help to supplement documentary sources in clarifying details of this structure. The absence of Standing Caliph coins from Jund al-Urdunn (apart from the rare twin standing caliph coins, Walker A.5 and A.6, attributed to the mint of Baysān) has already been commented upon. It is probable that this Jund took an independent line, issuing the series of small three-figure coins with religious legends at Ṭabariyya, and continuing for a time with the old Justin and Sophia type at Baysān.

The chronology is less problematic than for previous phases of coinage, as the gold dinars are dated (known for all years from AH 74-77), and we know that the first reformed gold and silver were issued in AH 77 and 78, respectively. However, there are uncertainties, in particular, whether or not the copper preceded the gold, whether Standing Caliph coins were issued from Īliyā (Jerusalem) earlier than from other mints, and exactly when the final

(55) The prototypes are MIB Phocas 8ff., MIB Heraclius 21 ff., 29 ff. and 44 ff. Miles 1967, plate XLV, illustrates the imitations.

(56) In the Zagreb Museum, a photograph of which was shown by Andrew Oddy at the 2000 Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table. This two-figure coin is of quite crude style, with crosses removed only from the reverse and retained on the obverse.

(57) See Palmer 1993, pp. 29-35, "The Maronite Chronicle", which Palmer dates from internal evidence to before 680 AD: "He also minted gold and silver, but it was not accepted, because it had no cross on it" (p.32). If this does indeed refer to the solidi under discussion here, the reason for their not being accepted was presumably that merchants regarded them as forgeries, rather than for any religious reasons (as might be inferred from the Chronicle).

(58) Bates 1986, p. 246 ff. Bates discusses the dating of these coins in some detail. He considers the most important evidence a report in the *Chronographia* of the 9th century historian, Theophanes. This states that in Annus Mundi 6183, Justinian II would not accept the tribute money that "ᶜAbd al-Malik sent, as it had a new type of stamp and had never been that way before". Bates then goes on to demonstrate that the most likely date for the introduction of the new coinage was Oct-Nov 691. This date would fit in well with the numismatic evidence, but it is not certain which type of gold coins Theophanes is referring to, and so this exact dating should be treated with some caution.

copper reform took place. These questions will all be discussed in the section on Chronology. What is apparent from the internal evidence of the coins themselves is that we are not looking at a long period of minting for the Standing Caliph series. There are fewer varieties at each of the major mints than for the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage, and generally these varieties exhibit less internal variability.

The Shamma collection in particular is strong in Standing Caliph coinage, and, although not all mints are represented, the numbers of coins illustrated for several mints are greater than could previously be found in a single publication.

Again Walker provides a reliable foundation for the study of the coinage, but three new mints have been recognised since his book was published, namely Yubnā, Ludd and Tanūkh. However, other mints which have occasionally been assigned to coins in sale catalogues should be treated with caution.[59]

The obverse image

The Standing Caliph — Much has been written about the details of the Standing Caliph image, but in many ways little progress has been made in the understanding of these details and their meaning since Stickel's discussion in 1870. The main reasons for this are the relatively crude engraving of the caliph's figure, the variability between mints of some of these details, and the complete absence of contemporary documentary sources describing the Umayyad caliph's dress. We do, however, have the fragmentary stucco statue from the caliphal palace at Khirbet al-Mafjar near Jericho, which dates from around thirty years later (Hamilton 1969, plates XVII and XVIII).

Despite uncertainty about the detail, the basic image is clear enough. The caliph stands facing, bearded, sometimes apparently bareheaded, sometimes wearing a cap, and sometimes apparently wearing the *kūfiya* or headcloth. His robe is long and slightly flared, usually with some indication of being drawn in at the waist. His right hand grasps the pommel of a sword, which is sheathed in a large rectangular scabbard, hanging to his left. From his right forearm or his waist hangs an enigmatic object, the "girdle band." The main aspects will now be considered in more detail.

The headdress — Unlike most previous commentators, Walker was convinced that the caliph is always shown wearing the *kūfiya*, and this certainly seems to be the case on some examples (e.g., cat. 719). However, others give the appearance of long flowing hair (e.g., cat. 714), and many are sufficiently stylised to be interpreted in either way. Walker pointed out that Arabs do not generally let their hair grow long, and that "it would have been taboo then for a good Muslim to be represented with uncovered head" (Walker, p.xxx). Both these statements may be broadly correct, but, so far as I know, there is no reliable documentary evidence on the subject for this early period. The Khirbet al-Mafjar statue shows the hair uncovered at the sides and of medium length. Most unfortunately, the very top of the head is broken off, and it could originally have been either bareheaded or wearing a small cap. The figures on a few Standing Caliph coins are also suggestive of a small cap with hair uncovered at the sides (e.g., cat. 700). Whilst the basic Standing Caliph image probably included some form of head covering, the evidence of the Khirbet al-Mafjar statue and of the coins themselves indicates that the caliph was sometimes seen with hair exposed. It also seems almost inconceivable that a die engraver from Damascus, who would probably have seen the caliph in person, would have depicted him bareheaded, if this was taboo.

One other variant of the headdress should also be mentioned. In some cases, it is so stylised that it appears almost as a halo, and this is particularly noticeable in some of the crude coins of Yubnā (e.g., Walker I.1).

The robe — It is difficult to make out details of the robe, but it appears to be one piece, long-sleeved and slightly waisted. It does not seem to include a Byzantine chlamys, which is sometimes indicated on the Umayyad Imperial Image coins.[60] Details comprising herringbone patterns are sometimes visible, but these should probably be regarded as stylised folds, and they are absent from the few examples which show more realistic folds. On a few coins a vertical band with a wavy pattern, similar to that on the scabbard, is visible down one side of the robe.

The scabbard — This is perhaps the most consistently depicted part of the image, and on well-preserved specimens, the caliph's hand can sometimes be seen clasping the pommel of his sword. Where a pattern is visible, this is almost always a wavy line with pellets either side (e.g., cat. 613).

The "girdle band" — This enigmatic object has generated a good deal of discussion, but no wholly satisfactory answers over the years. Stickel (1870) suggested it was either a rosary, a broad loose sleeve or a whip with three lashes, whilst Walker favoured the end of the caliph's girdle band. The whole subject was comprehensively reviewed by Miles in 1967, who considered a number of other interpretations, including a cord to hold the caliphal seal. However, he was forced to the conclusion that none of the explanations

(59) Perhaps the best candidate for a new mint is Walker Th.2, now in the Barber Institute in Birmingham (no. AB 39). This coin, which is in the style of the Jund Qinnasrīn, could possibly be a slightly blundered version of *Antākiya*, or as Walker suggested, *Lattākiya*. Two other Jund Qinnasrīn style coins with puzzling mint names appear in Stephen Album's lists. The first, apparently of Jund Qinnasrīn by style (list 123, no. 69) was attributed to Ḥittīn, in Jund al-Urdunn. This seems very unlikely on grounds of style, and there is no evidence of Ḥittīn having been of any importance in the Umayyad period. However, the lettering is clear and very distinctive, and the coin may well be the product of an unknown northern mint. The second puzzling mint name, attributed to Buṣra (list 139, no. 60), is just possible, but it could very well be a blundered version of Ḥalab. A coin attributed to Balīkh in a Peus auction (1 November 1995, lot 849), is almost certainly from Sarmīn; the style is typical of that mint and the blundering of the mint name is very similar to no. 655 in the present catalogue. Finally, coins attributed to Aylah have appeared at auction (e.g., Elsen, 11 December 1999). The mint name is clearly written, but is only very slightly different from Īliyā; furthermore, the distinctive style is absolutely typical of Īliyā. A blundering or misspelling of the latter mint name therefore seems very likely.

(60) The chlamys, part of the emperor's civil dress, was a long purple cloak fastened on his right shoulder with a fibula.

so far put forward were entirely satisfactory. The object is depicted in two main ways; firstly as three separate strands terminating in pellets, and secondly as a long loop. The first, which is the norm at Damascus, Īliyā and ᶜAmmān, is suggestive of a whip, and is almost identical to the conventional representation of the pharaoh's flail on thousands of ancient Egyptian images of kingship. The loop, which is almost univeral in Jund Qinnarsīn, could also represent a longer form of whip. The fact that the three strands often appear to hang from the forearm or elbow, rather than the waist, is also slightly suggestive of a whip with a short handle held in the hand. Although the only references we have to a whip concern the pre-Umayyad caliph ᶜUmar rather than any of the Umayyad caliphs, the whip must be regarded as a plausible explanation.[61] Equally plausible is the suggestion that it represents the end of the girdle, perhaps terminating in three knotted tassels and draped over the forearm. I have used Walker's term "girdle band" in catalogue descriptions in the absence of anything better, but the actual nature of the object must remain uncertain. It does, however, seem that the object had some significance, for it is only occasionally omitted.[62]

In conclusion, therefore, we have a distinctive image of the caliph, on which the significance of some details remains unclear, but which would probably have been recognised by Muslim users of the coins as the caliph delivering the *khuṭba* or Friday sermon in the mosque.[63] That the figure was seen as the caliph himself, rather than a generalised representation of an Imam, seems certain, given the occurrence of ᶜAbd al-Malik's name and titles in the legends around it.[64] This also means that it must have been a reasonably plausible representation of the caliph's actual appearance, which would have been familiar to many users of the coins.

The reverse image

The Transformed Cross-on-Steps — In marked contrast to the obverse image, the reverse has until recently generated little interest and has been accepted as simply a de-Christianised version of the Byzantine cross-on-steps found on the reverse of Byzantine coinage of all denominations, but particularly the gold solidi of Heraclius. This has changed with the recent interpretation by two different scholars of the transformed cross-on-steps as a significant and specifically Islamic image.[65] However, before considering these interpretations we first need to consider the significance of the Byzantine "prototype". The cross-on-steps is generally agreed to have originally represented the jewelled cross erected by the Roman emperor Theodosius II (AD 402-450) in Jerusalem on Golgotha, the site of the crucifixion. It first appeared on Byzantine coinage under Tiberius Constantine (AD 578-582), and was used by Heraclius as the normal reverse for gold coinage from the start of his revolt in 608, and on silver shortly thereafter. It only appeared occasionally on Byzantine copper coinage. Interestingly, the image appears prominently on the obverse of one Umayyad Imperial Image variety from Baalbek (Type V, see cat. 583), between the two standing figures. By the time the Standing Caliph coins were produced, the symbol would have been thoroughly familiar, certainly on imported Byzantine solidi and perhaps on the Umayyad Imperial Image issue just mentioned.

In the transformed cross-on-steps the cross-bar is eliminated and replaced by a small globe in the case of the gold coinage and a circle or ellipse in the case of the copper. The first suggestion that this represented a meaningful Islamic image came from Savage, who proposed that it represented a form of victory trophy comprising, in the case of the copper, a spear stuck in the ground together with a shield. In the case of the gold, she also saw it as a victory trophy, more specifically denoting caliphal authority, and perhaps representing the *ᶜanaza*, the spear of the prophet. Jamil's interpretation was much more complex, but basically she considered the vertical line to represent a pole or axis around which the stars rotate, which by analogy has a number of layers of meaning, including the concept of the caliph as the axis of his community. She showed how concepts relating to pivots and axes were prevalent both in pre-Islamic Arab poetry and in eulogistic poetry about the caliph in the Marwānid period. Both these interpretations have their attractions, and are certainly more convincing than the old "not-a-cross" interpretation. However, neither author has been able to produce convincing evidence, documentary, archaeological or in the form of other contemporary artefacts, to support their case. For the moment, therefore, we can only say that the transformed cross-on-steps was probably a meaningful symbol which was considered appropriate for use on coinage because of its general resemblance to the familiar cross-on-steps.

At mints in Jund Filasṭīn (Īliyā, Yubnā and Ludd), the modified cross-on-steps was never used and the old cursive **m** of the Pseudo-Byzantine and some Umayyad Imperial Image coinage continued in use on the reverse of the Standing Caliph coins. Why this should have been the case is very difficult to explain, unless we accept the proposition that the Standing Caliph coinage started earlier at Jerusalem than elsewhere. This question will shortly be revisited in the section on the mint of Īliyā.

There is also a rare mintless Standing Caliph coin, with an obverse very similar to those of ᶜAmmān, and with a capital **M** reverse surrounded by the *shahāda* (cat. 716).

(61) For the whip, see for example Ṭabarī, quoted in Miles 1967, p.221.

(62) Whilst it must have formed part of the regalia in the original image, it is of course possible that it became more prominent as it was copied onto the coins. The three strands also occur on a few standing emperor coins from Damascus and Ṭabariyya (see for example Fig. 7 and Fig. 8 in Walker, p.47). On all the coins of this type that I have seen, the strands appear to hang from the waist.

(63) See Treadwell 1999, pp. 258-259.

(64) There is a also the report in Maqrīzī's *Shudūr al-ᶜuqūd*, that Muᶜāwiya issued gold coins with the image of a sword-girt caliph. As there is no evidence of Standing Caliph gold coinage from this reign, this is generally accepted as a reference of the coinage of ᶜAbd al-Malik. See also footnote (67).

(65) The first of these was Elizabeth Savage in an unpublished talk to the Royal Numismatic Society entitled *Arab-Byzantine Symbols of Victory*, 1996. The second was Nadia Jamil (Jamil 1999).

Legends

With the Standing Caliph coinage legends become quite standardised. Only the following legends, all in Arabic, are found.

Obverse legends

O1. The standard legend, usually written clockwise from 1h: لعبد الله عبد الملك امير المؤمنين (*li ᶜabd allāh ᶜabd al-malik amīr al-mu'minīn*, "for the servant of God, ᶜAbd al-Malik, commander of the believers"). This legend is found at all mints apart from Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn, al-Ruhā, Ḥarrān, Īliyā, Yubnā and Ludd.

O2. Usually written downwards right and left: خليفة الله / امير المؤمنين (*khalīfat allāh / amīr al-mu'minīn*, "caliph of God, commander of the believers"). Found at Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn, Manbij and perhaps Sarmīn.

O3. Usually written downwards right and left: خليفة الله / امير الله (*khalīfat allāh / amīr allāh*, "caliph of God, commander for God"). Found only at Sarmīn, and always so blundered that it may just represent a misinterpretation of legends O2.

O4. The *shahāda*, usually written clockwise from 1h: بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله (*bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu muḥammad rasūl allāh*, "in the name of God, there is no deity but God alone, Muḥammad is the messenger of God"). The first two words, *bism allāh*, are very often omitted. Found at Dimashq, occasionally at ᶜAmmān, and on the gold.

O5. Last part of the *shahāda*, usually downwards at the left and upwards at the right: محمد رسول الله (*muḥammad rasūl allāh*, "Muḥammad is the messenger of God"). Found at Dimashq, al-Ruhā, Īliyā, Yubnā and Ludd.

O6. Just the word *muḥammad* together with the name name, found only at Harrān.

Reverse Legends

R1. The *shahāda*, as **O4** above, usually without the initial words بسم الله (*bism allāh*). Found at all mints except Ḥarrān, Īliyā, Yubnā and Ludd.

R2. The denomination and date, usually written clockwise from 1h: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة ... (*bism allāh ḍuriba hadhā al-dīnār sanat* ..., "in the name of God, this dinar was struck in the year ..."). Found only on the gold, which was presumably struck at Dimashq despite the omission of the mint name.

The reverse field normally contains the mint name, often prefixed by *bi* ("in"), and sometimes the word واف (*wāf*, "full value"). These are normally written upwards or downwards either side of the shaft of the transformed cross-on-steps. The following table gives typical examples of the Kufic mint name for each of the Standing Caliph mints:

Mint	Kufic mint name	Remarks
Ḥalab	بحلب	usually *bi-ḥalab*
Qinnasrīn	بقنسرين	usually *bi-qinnasrīn*
Tanūkh	بتنوخ	usually *bi-tanūkh*
Sarmīn	بسر - مين	divided between left and right of modified cross, with second part usually reversed
Manbij	بمنبج	
Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn	بمعرة - مصرين	divided between left and right of modified cross, always blundered
Jibrīn	بجدرين	
Qūrus	بقورس	usually *bi-qūrus*
Ḥarrān	بحران	written on obverse
al-Ruhā	بالرها	
Ḥimṣ	بحمص	usually *bi-ḥimṣ*
Dimashq	بمشق	initial letter sometimes missing
Baᶜlbakk	ببعلبك	
ᶜAmmān	بعمان	
Īliyā Filasṭīn	بايليا - فلسطين	
Yubnā Filasṭīn	بيبنا - فلسطين	
Ludd Filasṭīn	بلد - فلسطين	

Other minor variants occur. These are dealt with in the notes on the mints and in the catalogue.

Standards of epigraphy vary widely between mints, and even within certain mints, but overall standards are slightly lower than in the previous Umayyad Imperial Image phase and much lower than in the subsequent post-reform phase. Blundered legends and missing words often occur, and completely retrograde legends occur occasionally. In some cases, such as Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn, this seems to be due to illiterate die engravers, whilst at others, such as Ḥalab, there are all the signs of a mint working under pressure with production standards generally low. Oddly enough, the standards of literacy seem to be rather low in a high proportion of the coins from the capital, Dimashq.

The gold dinars

Although the gold is mintless, the strong presumption is that it was produced at the capital, Damascus. The coins are all dated and a handful are known for each of the four years, AH 74, 75, 76 and 77. That 77 is the last year of production is almost certain, given that the first reformed dinars were produced in that year. It is also quite likely that 74 was the first year of production, as Balādhurī reports that ᶜAbd al-Malik was the first to strike gold coins in AH 74 (see footnote 67).

These coins are well produced with correct epigraphy, anticipating the standards that were achieved in the post-reform dinars. However, their rarity, and the fact that so far none is known from a hoard, means that we cannot be certain that they circulated normally as currency. They may have functioned mainly as presentation pieces, or seen only limited circulation in Damascus.[66] It is also quite possible that they were produced as a reaction to the new solidus of Justinian II (MIB 8), which, although undated, was probably introduced in 692 (AH 72). This coin has a bust of Christ on the obverse and a standing figure of the emperor on the reverse, which bears a certain superficial resemblance to the Standing Caliph figure.[67]

The mints

The administrative structure of Bilād al-Shām in the late 7th century is not known with absolute certainty. Early chroniclers such as al-Balādhurī tell us that it was first divided into four military districts, the Junds of Emesa, Dimashq, al-Urdunn and Filasṭīn by the caliph ᶜUmar (AH 13-23), and that Qinnasrīn was added by Yazīd I (AH 60-64).[68] However, the earliest of these sources dates from the 9th century AD, and cannot be regarded as completely reliable. The Standing Caliph coins therefore provide a valuable source of information on administrative structure.

In recent years two different views of Jund boundaries have emerged. In the first view, Shahid proposed that, after his defeat of the Persians in AD 628, Heraclius set up four new military "themes" (provinces), which were adopted by the Arabs as the first four Junds.[69] He showed the boundaries between the Junds as running roughly east-west between the Mediterranean and the desert. This view was countered by Haldon (1995), who argued that the themes were never actually created, and that the Jund boundaries were rather more complex and based on previous civil boundaries. They were also subject to some changes over time. Haldon's view has generally gained acceptance and is much more in line with the numismatic evidence. His Jund boundaries are illustrated in the map on page 121 along with the location of the 18 standing caliph mints.

Stylistically the coins divide into five broad groups. Working from North to South the first group comprises the two small mints of al-Ruhā and Ḥarrān, which produced distinctive coins quite unlike those of the other northern mints, confirming that they were outside Jund Qinnasrīn. The second, and by far the largest, group comprises the mints of Ḥalab, Qinnasrīn, Sarmīn, Tanūkh, Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn, Manbij, Jibrīn and Qūrus (listed roughly in order of decreasing importance as indicated by surviving numbers of coins). Here the transformed cross is rather tall and the caliph's girdle band is shown as a loop. Both die engraving and production standards are poor. This is very suggestive of a new coinage for a new Jund produced in something of a hurry, but the rather distinctive coinage of Manbij and Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn may indicate some degree of independence for these two towns. Moving south, the next two groups cover the central Syrian Junds of Dimashq and Ḥimṣ; firstly a group of large and rather well produced coins at Ḥimṣ, Dimashq and Baᶜlbakk (Baalbek), and secondly a group of smaller coins at Ḥimṣ, Dimashq and ᶜAmmān. Whilst the small Ḥimṣ coins are quite distinctive, there is quite a close resemblance between some of the Dimashq and ᶜAmmān coins, suggesting that, for this period at least, ᶜAmmān was part of Jund Dimashq. The mints of Dimashq and ᶜAmmān tend to use a much shorter transformed cross than the northern mints, and the caliph's girdle band is normally made up of three strands. In these stylistic aspects Ḥimṣ tends to be intermediate between the northern and southern mints. The final and most distinctive group comprises the three mints of the southernmost Jund of Filasṭīn, which differ from all others in the use of the cursive **m** reverse instead of the modified cross-on-steps. Apart from a very rare and presumably experimental twin Standing Caliph issue, generally attributed to Baysān (Walker A.5 and A.6), the Jund of al-Urdunn produced no Standing Caliph coinage.

Given the degree of central coordination implicit in the standardisation of obverse types across virtually all mints, one might expect to find evidence of centrally produced obverse dies, but this cannot be observed on the coins. Styles vary markedly between Junds, and only one obverse die-link is known, between the mints of Qinnasrīn,Manbij and the very small nearby mint of Jibrīn. Central coordination might also result in a common prototype image, such as the gold dinar, being used initially by all mints, but again the coins do not suggest this, as almost all the copper is very different in style from the dinar. Furthermore, several mints exhibit highly distinctive

(66) At the present time, it appears that there is only one obverse die known for each year, though in no cases are more than three specimens confirmed for any year. This further corroborates the likelihood that extremely limited numbers of specimens were struck. The situation is entirely different for the post-reform dinars; even for the exceedingly rare year 77, there are many dies known, at least half a dozen for both obverse and reverse.

(67) See Miles 1967 for a full discussion of the dinars. Further details will be found in Bates 1986. In that article (pp. 251 ff.) Bates discusses the question of whether the Standing Caliph gold was a reaction to Justinian's new solidus (MIB 8), which was a complete break from previous iconography on Byzantine coins. The obverse shows a facing bust of Christ, whilst the reverse has a standing figure of Justinian wearing the loros (a long jewelled scarf) and holding a cross potent on steps. The coin in undated, but almost certainly belongs to the second half of Justinian's first reign (685-695), with 692 as a likely date. Bates quotes a report in al-Balādhurī's *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, that following a move to place Islamic religious inscriptions on papyri exported to the Byzantines, the emperor threatened to place derogatory comments about the Muslim prophet on the coins. ᶜAbd al-Malik consulted his advisors and was advised to forbid the entry of Byzantine gold. Bates concludes that this may be a garbled reference to Justinian's new coinage, but that there is no firm evidence that the Standing Caliph gold was a reaction to the new Byzantine solidus.

If we do accept that the Standing Caliph coinage was indeed a reaction to Justinian's new solidi, the caliph's "girdle band" might be viewed as no more than a blundering of Justinian's loros, which occasionally has three tassles at the end. However, I consider this to be very unlikely, given the prominence of this feature on most Standing Caliph copper coins, the fact that it is never depicted in the same way as the loros and the likelihood that the Standing Caliph image already existed (at Jerusalem, if not elsewhere) before the dinar was produced.

(68) See Le Strange 1890, p.25.

(69) See I. Shahid, "Heraclius and the Theme System: Further Observations", *Byzantion* LIX, 1989, pp. 208 ff.

images of the caliph, particularly Īliyā, Manbij and al-Ruhā. It therefore seems quite probable that a series of standing caliph images already existed in a form other than coinage and were copied locally.[70]

Mints in Jund Qinnasrīn

Ḥalab (حلب) (Beroea, Aleppo) (cat. 608-638) — Ḥalab was certainly the most prolific Standing Caliph mint, perhaps indicating a shortage of coins in the area due to the lack of minting during the Umayyad Imperial Image phase. The coins are often carelessly engraved, and production standards seem to have been generally poor. Flans are quite often irregular, with frequent evidence of overstriking on the cut down flans of Byzantine folles of Constans II and earlier emperors, particularly Heraclius. One or two specimens are even known which seem to have been struck on pieces of scrap metal hacked from old copper vessels. There is a wide range of flan size, with a number of small coins on rather thick round flans, where the die is much larger than the flan size. Legends are always **O1** and **R1**, with the mint name and *wāf* on the reverse. The mint name is written as either *ḥalab* or *bi-ḥalab*, occasionally incompletely or carelessly spelled.

Qinnasrīn (قنسرين) (Chalcis) (cat. 657-661) — The coinage of Qinnasrīn is very similar to that of Ḥalab in all respects except for one; on most coins, the legends are reasonably correctly written. Were it not for this single difference, one could easily believe that the two towns shared the same mint. Qinnasrīn was also a prolific mint and, in terms of surviving numbers of coins, is probably second only to Ḥalab within this Jund.

One obverse die, presumably originating at Qinnasrīn, was also used with a Jibrīn and a Manbij reverse die. So far this is the only known example of die linking between different Standing Caliph mints.[71]

Tanūkh (تنوخ) (cat. 656) — The coins from this mint are also very similar to those of Ḥalab in almost all respects, with the mint name normally written as *bi-tanūkh*, but occasionally simply as *tanūkh*. Despite being quite common, they remained unrecognised until relatively recently.[72] The reading must still be regarded as problematic, because, whilst the tribe of the Banū Tanūkh is well attested, there is, so far as I am aware, no record of a town of that name. Walker read the same mint name on a post-reform copper as "Sarūj", a town between Manbij and Ḥarrān, and therefore outside the Jund Qinnasrīn. However, Tanūkh better fits what is actually written on the coins.[73]

Sarmīn (سرمين) (cat. 639-655) — Whilst conforming to the general style and fabric of Jund Qinnasrīn, the coins of Sarmīn do show a number of differences. On the obverse the figure of the caliph tends to be more carefully engraved than normally, with patterns on the robe being visible on well-preserved examples. The mint also occasionally makes use of a blundered version of legend **O3**, although this may be merely a misunderstanding of legend **O2** as used at Manbij and Maʿarrat Miṣrīn. On the reverse, the mint name is split into two parts on either side of the transformed cross-on-steps, *sar* on one side, *mīn* on the other. A few examples are known on which the mint name is correctly written, but in most cases the second half is heavily blundered. One so far unique coin of Sarmīn with standard legend **O1** has the additional obverse legend عبد الرحمن (*ʿabd al-raḥmān*), presumably a governor's name, written on either side of the caliph (see Goodwin 1997).[74]

Manbij (منبج) (Hierapolis) (cat. 679-682) — The coins of the normal variety of Manbij are quite distinctive with legend **O2** either side of an often unusual depiction of the caliph with a strongly flared robe, no girdle band and what may be a breast ornament (cat. 681-682). A less common variety uses legend **O1** and a Standing Caliph figure more like those found at other Jund Qinnasrīn mints. The reverse is of the normal type for the Jund, with *wāf* and the mint name either side of the transformed cross-on-steps.

One obverse die link is known between Qinnasrīn, Manbij and Jibrīn, as described in the paragraph on Qinnasrīn.

Maʿarrat Miṣrīn (معرة مصرين) (cat. 674-678) — This mint normally uses a blundered version of legend **O1**, but **O2** also occurs occasionally. As at Sarmīn the mint name is split, and written on either side of the transformed cross. However, the name is always so badly blundered that its reading must remain slightly uncertain.

Jibrīn (جبرين) (not in collection) — The coins of Jibrīn are rare and conform generally to the style of Jund Qinnasrīn. One obverse die-link is known between Jibrīn, Manbij and Qinnasrīn, as described in the paragraph on Qinnasrīn. The reverse is of the normal type with *wāf* and the mint name either side of the transformed cross-on-steps. Walker

(70) In addition to the Khirbet al-Mafjar statue (and the possibility that earlier statues may have existed) Raby 1999 has shown that certain glass pilgrim bottles, found near Jerusalem, probably carry an image of the standing caliph. A rather different image of the standing caliph, but with basically the same attributes, occurs on Arab-Sasanian copper coinage mints at Susa (Gyselen 2000, no. 39).

(71) This obverse die is illustrated in Walker (plate VII, I.2) combined with a Jibrīn reverse; other examples of this die pairing are known in private collections. The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, possesses an example of the same obverse die coupled with an absolutely normal looking Qinnasrīn reverse (1978.95.5). Two examples in private collections have the same obverse die coupled with a Manbij reverse. A number of explanations are possible, but, given the normal literate Qinnasrīn die, it seems unlikely that these coins are contemporary forgeries. The most plausible explanation is that the die was sent to Jibrīn and Manbij to set up a small mint at each town.

(72) So far as I can ascertain, the first Tanūkh standing caliph coin to be published was in Goodwin 1996 (plate 51, no. 23), but the attribution was first made by Lutz Ilisch in the 1980s. He has recently described his reasoning behind this attribution (Ilisch 2001), and suggested tentatively that Tanūkh may not have been a place at all, but that it may refer to the church administration, as a bishop for the Banū Tanūkh is attested.

(73) Sarūj is not known as an early Islamic mint, but was recently attested, thanks to Lutz Ilisch, as a mint during the late Ḥamdānid period (Tübingen no. 93-10-24), in the same of Saʿīd al-Dawla, who ruled circa AH 381-392, some three centuries later than the Standing Caliph coinage.

(74) After writing this paragraph I came across a second example in the Bibliothèque Nationale (L2724). This example has the same obverse die, but with the second half of the name ʿAbd al-Raḥmān obscured by corrosion, coupled with a different Sarmīn reverse die.

equated this mint with the town of Bayt Jibrīn in Filasṭīn (p.lxxvi), but the similarity of the coins to others from Jund Qinnasrīn makes this attribution highly unlikely. Ilisch later suggested that Jibrīn was probably one of two small towns near Ḥalab, each of which was known as Jibrīn (see Ilisch 2001). Both Jibrīn and Bayt Jibrīn are known as post-reform Umayyad copper mints.[75]

Qūrus (قورس) (Cyrrhus) (cat. 672-673) — The coins of Qūrus are also quite uncommon, and conform to the Jund Qinnasrīn style. They are usually struck on small round flans, and the standards of epigraphy seem to be rather better than usual. The reverse is of the normal type for the Jund.

Mints in the Jazīra province

Ḥarrān (حران) (Carrhae) (cat. 687) — The two mints in the Jazīra produced coins which are very different in style than those of Jund Qinnasrīn, suggesting that at this period their administration was separate. The distinctive type from Ḥarrān is quite rare, and bears the name *muḥammad* and the mint name either side of the obverse figure. It is the only Standing Caliph variety on which the mint name appears on the obverse. The name *muḥammad* is repeated on the reverse to the right of the transformed cross-on-steps, whilst to the left is a monogram comprised of the letters H and A; below are the letters I S. The meaning of these letters is unclear.[76]

Al-Ruhā (الرها) (Edessa, the modern Urfa) (cat. 688) — Coins from al-Ruhā are also rare and equally distinctive. Obverse and reverse have religious legends, and the mint name appears on the reverse as normal. However, the obverse image is very unusual, as it utilises a large elongated face with a long beard, engraved with considerable care. At least one reverse die has the normal transformed cross-on-steps replaced by the type with a small globe at the top, as on the Standing Caliph gold (Walker 93).

Mints in Jund Ḥimṣ

Ḥimṣ (حمص) (Emesa) (cat. 689-700) — At Ḥimṣ there are two main varieties with a few transitional coins linking them. Both varieties have an obverse with legend **O1**, and the caliph figure usually exhibits the loop type of girdle band typical of mints within Jund Qinnasrīn, but sometimes there are three strands and sometimes no girdle band at all. The first variety is of similar module and fabric to the imperial bust coinage of Ḥimṣ, and may well have followed on directly from it. This variety has the mint name written *bi-ḥimṣ* to one side of the transformed cross-on-steps and usually a large star to the left. The second variety is usually smaller and thinner, and has the additional word *ḍarb* ("struck") in place of the star. Standards of epigraphy are reasonably good on all issues of this mint.

Mints in Jund Dimashq

Dimashq (دمشق) (Damascus) (cat. 706-715) — As with the Umayyad Imperial Image series, the issues from the capital are the most complex and, although common, the coins are not quite so plentiful today as those of Ḥalab. Three main varieties can be discerned: (1) well-produced large module coins with legend **O1**; (2) smaller, rougher coins with the *shahāda* **O4** on the obverse; and (3) similar coins with *muḥammad rasūl allāh* (**O5**) on the obverse. The second type is by far the most common. Almost all have a similar reverse, with the mint name to the right of the transformed cross-on-steps and either a star or nothing at all to the left. On the small module coins, legends are quite often heavily blundered, with the initial *dāl* of *dimashq* sometimes omitted. Some of these coins are quite similar to those of ᶜAmmān.

Baᶜlbakk (بعلبك) (Baalbek, Heliopolis) (cat. 701-704) — The coins from this mint are not very common and are all reasonably well-produced on large flans, being generally similar to the large module coins of Damascus and Ḥimṣ. The obverse always has legend **O1** and a star to the right of the caliph's shoulder.

ᶜAmmān (عمّان) (Philadelphia) (cat. 717-729) — The ᶜAmmān coinage was struck on small round flans, usually quite thick, except for a few examples overstruck on earlier coins.[77] The obverse usually carries legend **O1**, but occasionally legend **O4** occurs. Due to the small size of the flan, the die engravers often had difficulty in accomodating the long legends, but they made more effort than at Damascus, so that legends are usually legible, albeit with one or two words sometimes missing. One obverse die which is used with several reverse dies has completely retrograde legends (cat. 718-725). The reverse has a short transformed cross-on-steps with a proportionately large circle. The mint name is usually to the right and a large star to the left. Overall, the coins of ᶜAmmān exhibit less variability than those of other major mints.

The rare mintless Standing Caliph type with a capital **M** reverse (cat. 716) can almost certainly be assigned to ᶜAmmān on the basis of its fabric and the style of the obverse.

Mints in Jund al-Urdunn

Baysān (?) (بيسن) (Scythopolis) (not in collection) — Although no mint in al-Urdunn produced normal Standing Caliph coins, there exist rare mintless coins (Walker A.5 and A.6) with two standing caliph figures on the obverse with what appears to be a spear on steps between. The reverse has a capital **M** with an Arabic legend around naming the caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik. An even rarer variant has a meaningless Greek legend on either side of **M** (Goussous 1996, no. 70). All these coins are of similar (or only slightly smaller) module to the earlier coins of Baysān.

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(75) For Jibrīn, Walker 782; for Bayt Jibrīn, Walker 781 and Th.14.

(76) Stephen Album (1988) suggested that the IS might be a Greek numeral for 16, signifying a fals of 16 *qirāṭ*. Assuming a *qirāṭ* of 0.195g, this gives a predicted average weight for the coins of 3.12g. Harry Bone, in his metrological study (see Bibliography), gives a mean weight of 3.00g based on eight specimens, which is close to the predicted value. The standard deviation is low at 0.22g, compared to the other northern Standing Caliph mints, as would be expected if the coins were being produced to an approximate weight standard. Album's suggestion is therefore quite plausible, although there is no precedent for a weight being quoted on a pre-reform copper coin.

(77) Including one in a private collection which was overstruck on an 800 year old Seleucid copper. See Goodwin 2001, Cat. 17.

They probably form part of a group of experimental issues from that mint, which were presumably efforts to find an acceptable replacement for the Justin and Sophia coins. They could, however, be the products of another mint in Jund al-Urdunn.

Mints in Jund Filasṭīn

Īliyā (ايليا) (Aelia Capitolina, Jerusalem) (cat. 730-731) — The Standing Caliph coins of Īliyā are very distinctive in a number of ways. They are usually well produced and carefully engraved, but the obverse figure is often extremely stylised, with a long beard, flowing hair, and a strong herringbone pattern across the whole body. The girdle band is always shown as three short strands. This image is so different from that on the dinars that it is very difficult to believe that they both copy the same original, or that one is a copy of the other. The obverse legend is always *muḥammad rasūl allāh* (**O5**). The reverse comprises the mint name and the Jund name either side of a cursive **m**, with some minor variations in symbols above. Legends are usually correctly written, though in one case reversed.[78]

The coins of Īliyā present something of an enigma, as it is hard to believe that the mint would have been allowed to use the old **m** reverse if it introduced the Standing Caliph at the same time as other mints and as part of a comprehensive centrally coordinated reform. It is therefore quite probable that they preceded the other Standing Caliph issues by a few years. This would explain the rarity of the preceding Umayyad Imperial Image issue of Jerusalem, the use of the cursive **m** on the Standing Caliph issue, and the very unusual iconography of the caliphal figure. However, at present this early dating, which could also apply to Yubnā, must be regarded as provisional until confirmed by overstrikes or other evidence.

Yubnā (يبنى) (not in collection) — Although following the same iconography and legends as Īliyā, the coins from Yubnā display much more variety, and are often badly engraved with blundered or reversed legends. They are also often struck on irregular flans resembling those of Pseudo-Byzantine coins, including a number struck on old Byzantine flans which had been divided into three or four parts (e.g., Walker I.1). There is also an extremely rare type with a variant reverse which reads فلو / س يبنى (*fulū-s yubnā*).[79] The coins were published by Walker (Walker 83 ff.), but the mint name was not successfully read until much later. To judge by the apparently large number of different dies they must have been produced in quite large numbers.

Ludd (لد) (Diospolis) (not in collection) — This mint has only recently been discovered and at present only two obverse and one reverse dies are known, the reverse apparently being an altered Yubnā die. Apart from the mint name, iconography and legends are the same as for others of Jund Filasṭīn.[80]

Mints and mint practices: some observations and conclusions

What were the characteristics of a pre-reform Umayyad mint? Very little has been written on the subject, but implicit in some of the literature seems to be the assumption that for Pseudo-Byzantine coinage we are talking about little more than the local blacksmith's shop, whilst for Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph issues the establishment was rather grander, perhaps on the lines of a Byzantine mint with several die engravers and gangs of workmen performing other functions, possibly even divided into separate officinae. However, in most cases the true picture must have been rather different from either of these models. Die studies have been carried out for Baalbek, Ḥimṣ (imperial bust type only), and to a limited extent for the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint, and in each case these have indicated numbers of different dies measured in tens rather than hundreds (see section on Chronology: Die Studies). Rough checks for other larger mints confirm this order of magnitude, as several identical dies will almost always be found in a sample of say 30 coins from a single mint. This applies to both Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph coins. For small mints such as Ludd, Jibrīn or Ṭarṭūs, only a handful of dies appear to have been produced. Pseudo-Byzantine coins are more difficult to sort into mints, due to the lack of mintmarks, but already a number of groups have been identified which appear to be from the same mint, and some of these groups comprise well over twenty dies (see footnote 12 above).

Despite an increasing tendency towards standardisation, the mints seem to have operated reasonably autonomously through the period covered by this catalogue, in the sense that each has its own style and in many cases its own individual method of production, albeit sometimes with similarities within individual Junds as noted above. There are only two cases of die-links between mints; the first between Umayyad Imperial Image coins of Baalbek and Damascus, which may indicate the transfer of the Baalbek mint to Damascus, and secondly a single Standing Caliph die shared between the mints of Qinnasrīn, Manbij and the very small mint of Jibrīn. Presumably some die engravers worked at more than one mint, but as yet no cases of this have been identified, and there is certainly no evidence to support the idea of the centralised production of dies.

The picture therefore emerges of municipal mints which are all quite small, and sometimes very small, by the standard of late antiquity. Some of the mints may well have had much the same characteristics right through from the Pseudo-Byzantine phase to the Standing Caliph phase.

The small scale of the mints also has the important consequence that many of them could not have supported

(78) Mention should also be made of at least two different reverse dies where *Īliyā* is omitted and the Jund name *filasṭīn* is written upwards on both sides of the **m** (Walker P.7). On both dies the left hand *filasṭīn* is misspelled with the *lām* omitted. Otherwise the coins appear perfectly normal. Examples are known in private collections, in the American Numismatic Society (ANS 1998.25.11), and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

(79) Qedar 1991, pl.6, no. 24. The standard Yubnā type is no. 23 on the same plate.

(80) The information about the reverse die from Shraga Qedar. The coin is illustrated in Qedar 1991, pl.6, no. 22. The few specimens which I have been able to examine all appear to share the same reverse die, but with the possibility that the die was again altered at some stage during its life.

even one permanent full-time die engraver. At small mints, the work might well have been contracted out to a local gem cutter each time a new die was required. In other cases the mint may have been set up by a competent die engraver who produced one or two good dies and trained the local mint personnel to produce further dies as needed. Sometime later, when the original dies wore out, the workmen may have tried their hand at die production. We can perhaps see signs of this practice at some mints during the Standing Caliph phase, when a number of new mints opened. For example, at Sarmīn there are only one or two reverse dies with the mint name written correctly, whilst at Yubnā most of the coins are very crude but a few have competent images well-struck on proper round flans. A similar set of circumstances may also explain some of the apparently irregular coins, for example the group of irregular imperial bust coins from Ḥimṣ (cat. 555 ff.)

There is no indication that the rare gold coins were produced in the same mint as any of the copper coins. The style of both the three-figure image and the Standing Caliph image on the gold coins are quite distinctive, and the epigraphy is neat and accurate. If we assume that they were produced at Damascus, the contrast with the copper is very marked, as standards at this mint were generally below average for its copper coinage.

Chronology of the pre-reform coinage of Bilād al-Shām

Two rival chronologies

Earlier writers were largely unaware of the widespread import of official Byzantine folles or of the extent of the subsequent Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. They therefore quite naturally assumed that Umayyad Imperial Image and even Standing Caliph coinage started shortly after the conquest. It was for example interesting to find that the original Spink's ticket of 1889 on an Īliyā Standing Caliph coin (cat. 731) attributes the coin to the caliph ᶜUmar (AD 634-644). Walker only discussed dating very briefly, and essentially he spread the Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph coinage over 60 years from around AD 640, thus from within the reign of ᶜUmar. Having accepted an early starting date, he then used some rather naïve criteria based on the dates of the Byzantine prototypes to date coins with a capital **M** reverse up to about 650, and those with a cursive **m** reverse up to the 660s. He regarded the Standing Caliph coins which made no mention of the caliph's name as the earliest, starting in about 670, and the type with ᶜAbd al-Malik's name as beginning in 685, when he became caliph.[81] This "long chronology" remained the orthodox view until Bates put forward a radically different view in 1976.

The starting point for Bates' "short chronology" was his acceptance of a redating of the introduction of the Standing Caliph series to around AH 74 by Grierson (1960). Grierson argued that the transformed cross-on-steps was an image confined to Byzantine precious metal coinage and that it therefore must have been adopted first on the Standing Caliph gold, which is dated. The copper would have followed, perhaps almost immediately, but certainly not earlier than AH 74, the first known date for gold coinage that bears the transformed cross-on-steps. Bates accepted this argument and pointed out that it gave an uncomfortably long period of over 50 years for the Arab-Byzantine coinage. He also pointed out three facts, which he felt had been previously neglected, but which taken together made Walker's view of the Arab-Byzantine series as virtually a continuation of Byzantine coinage no longer tenable.

- Firstly, there were no longer any mints operating in Byzantine Syria at the time of the conquest.
- Secondly, the fabric of Umayyad Imperial Image coins is markedly different from, and generally superior to, their Byzantine predecessors.
- Thirdly, none of the coins have specific Byzantine prototypes.

He then went on to consider the copper coinage of Damascus, arguing that it comprises one main obverse type (the standing emperor) and two main reverses (Arabic and Greek). Other obverse types (seated emperor and two-figure) are rare and there is considerable muling between the types. He concluded that this picture strongly suggests a short period of minting, and argued that this period probably began after the issue of the Umayyad Imperial Image gold solidi, as these were fairly close to Byzantine prototypes in appearance, whereas the coppers were farther removed. Bates went on to develop his "short chronology", suggesting that central control was strong, with one main image for each mint and die production possibly centralised.[82] Minor varieties, such as the two-figure types of Damascus, could then be explained by the use of a Baalbek obverse die with a Damascus reverse.

The weaknesses in some of Bates' arguments will be considered below, but some of his points were irrefutable, and a later starting date for the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage has been generally accepted ever since. In fact, it has become more plausible, now that numismatists are aware of the extensive importation of Byzantine folles in the 640s and 650s and of the existence of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. However, the most controversial part of Bates' chronology was his view that the Umayyad Imperial Image copper probably followed the gold solidi,

(81) Walker only makes cursory references to chronology in his introduction, e.g., pages xvi, xxii and xxvi, and does not attempt to justify his underlying assumption that minting of Umayyad Imperial Image coins commenced immediately after the conquest. His dates for particular categories of coins given mainly in the catalogue itself are Ṭarṭūs circa 640 (p.19), Justin and Sophia type circa 650 (p.1), coins with **M** reverse ca. 650 (p.5), coins with **m** reverse "roughly coterminous with the reign of Constans II (641-668)" (p.xxii), Standing Caliph without caliph's name or titles 670-685 (p.22), with titles only 670-690 (p.30) and with both name and titles 685-705 (p.32).

(82) The argument for one image from each mint now appears slightly less persuasive then when first put forward by Bates, as the 2-figure type from Damascus can no longer be regarded as rare. However, if the chronology proposed at the end of this section is accepted, there could well have been a short period when each main mint did have a distinctive obverse image: Damascus – standing emperor; Ḥimṣ – bust.; Baalbek – two figures; Ṭabariyya – three figures; Īliyā – Standing Caliph. This suggests a degree of coordination, if not centralised control.

and that therefore the whole series falls into a period of perhaps as little as two years, just prior to AH 74/AD 694. Many numismatists found this difficult to accept, given the apparent complexity of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. Ilisch (1980) pointed out a number of other weaknesses in Bates' proposals,[83] but no alternative model was put forward until Qedar published an article in 1991 which approached the whole question from a rather different direction.

Qedar first argued that a shortage of currency developed following the cessation of Byzantine minting in Syria in 610. Since historical records do not record any drastic changes in daily life in the region, the gap must have been filled by the local production of coins. He then went on to demonstrate that the numismatic record did indeed contain a succession of autonomous issues which, in his view, could be assigned so as to cover virtually the entire seventh and eighth centuries. In all cases these were produced with at least some degree of official sanction. He divided the coinage into eleven separate phases. For the period up to the reform of AH 77-79 (AD 696-698), these are as follows (the comments in brackets are mine):

A. (up to 640) Large module irregular folles.

B. (640-700) Imitations of smaller folles of Heraclius and Constans II (i.e., Pseudo-Byzantine coins).

C. (640-700) Anonymous figurative types with Greek and Arabic legends (i.e., coins of the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint and some coins of the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint).

D. (645-700) Arab-Byzantine coins with mint names and legends in Greek only.

E. (650-700) Arab-Byzantine coins with mint names and legends in Greek and Arabic or Arabic only.

F. (685-700) Standing Caliph with **m** or **M** reverse.

G. (690-700) Standing Caliph with transformed cross-on-steps reverse.

Qedar's model of organic growth differs fundamentally from Bates' centralised model but, as I hope to show below, both of them give us important insights and they can be reconciled with each other to a limited extent.

Since 1991 Qedar's Series A and B have been shown to be extensive issues[84] and the importance of Byzantine imports has been demonstrated.[85] The chronological debate was recently reviewed by Treadwell (2000), who proposed a tentative working model for the chronology of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. His proposals are closer to those of Qedar rather than of Bates, although he rejects some of Qedar's criteria for dating, and also his suggestion that the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage probably originated in the south. Treadwell proposes that Umayyad Imperial Image coinage probably started in the late Sufyānid period with the standing emperor coinage of Ḥimṣ and Damascus, the earliest issues being distinguished by validating phrases such as KAΛON or *jā'iz*. A later phase which included the imperial bust type from Ḥimṣ was marked by the use of a different image at each major mint. He agrees with Bates that the introduction of the Standing Caliph/transformed cross-on-steps issue took place in AH 74, at least in the north. He acknowledges that the Filasṭīn Standing Caliph coinage, with the **m** reverse, may have started several years before AH 74.

Weaknesses in Bates' "short chronology" and Qedar's "long chronology"

Before looking at what light the numismatic evidence can throw on the problem of chronology, I will first consider what seem to me to be the main weaknesses in Bates' and Qedar's arguments in support of the two different chronologies.

Gold before copper: Bates' dating of both the Standing Caliph series and the Umayyad Imperial Image series in copper depends on the proposition that they followed the gold. In the case of the Standing Caliph this has been relatively uncontroversial, based as it is on Grierson's 1960 article, but it is worth quoting in full what Grierson had to say on the subject:

"It is conceivable, though unlikely, that the 'standing caliph' type may have originated on the copper and been taken over later for the gold and silver, but it is impossible that the reverse type with which it is associated should have originated on the copper, since it is a modification of the cross-on-steps of the Byzantine solidus and must have passed directly from this to its Arabic equivalent, the gold dinar.'[86]

Grierson therefore considered that the most powerful part of the argument related to the reverse symbol. However, he seems to have overlooked the fact that the cross-on-steps also occurs occasionally on Byzantine copper coinage, most commonly on the reverse of Alexandrian dodecanummia of Heraclius (MIB 200), which are quite frequently found in parts of Bilād al-Shām.[87] Perhaps more significantly, it

(83) He pointed out that Bates, like Walker, had overlooked both the import of Byzantine folles and the importance of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. He also made the important point that the minting of a particular variety, once started, was not necessarily continuous. Breaks in minting could be demonstrated for certain post-reform fulūs, and the same could well have been the case before the reform.

(84) The Series A coins which date from before the conquest were first seriously considered by Hahn (1977), who illustrated a number of such coins in plate 14 of MIB Band 3. See also Pottier 1979. Pottier has recently identified many more specimens and has shown that minting probably continued in Syria through much of the Persian occupation (publication forthcoming). For Series B coins, see Goodwin 1993a and 1994.

(85) See Phillips and Goodwin 1997 and footnote (98) in this volume.

(86) Grierson 1960, p.246. It is worth mentioning that the dating of the Standing Caliph was very much a side issue in the article which dealt primarily with the metrology of the reform and its consequences on the world economy.

(87) Apart from MIB 200, the cross-on-steps is also found on a common 6 nummi Alexandrian coin of Heraclius (MIB 210). The only other common copper coin on which it occurs is a 10 nummi piece of Maurice Tiberius (582-592) minted at Carthage (MIB 126). The penetration of Byzantine Alexandrian coinage into Bilād al-Shām is well known to dealers and collectors, but how far north they are commonly found is not clear. Excavation evidence is available from Jerash in Bellinger 1938, where nine Alexandrian coins are listed (including one Heraclius six-nummi with cross-on-steps reverse) and in Marot 1998, where 21 Alexandrian coins are listed, again including one Heraclius six-nummi with cross-on-steps reverse. At Antioch,

is also found on the obverse of one variety of Umayyad Imperial Image coinage from Baalbek (cat. 583). It was therefore already a reasonably familiar symbol on copper at the time of the introduction of the Standing Caliph copper coinage. Furthermore, we have already come across examples of die engravers apparently copying designs from Byzantine gold onto Arab-Byzantine copper coins (e.g., Type H of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage). The transformed cross-on-steps may therefore have first appeared on the copper. It might even be argued that the earliest example is the rare mintless type (Walker Kh.1), which has an imperial image obverse, complete with crosses on the globus crucigers, coupled with a reverse comprising a transformed cross-on-steps of the same type used on the gold.

Turning to the Standing Caliph image itself, we might expect the images on the copper, if the copper followed the gold, to be at least approximate copies of that on the gold, perhaps with a degree of deterioration with the passing of time. However, this is definitely not the case. Even at Damascus, most of the images on the copper coinage are quite unlike that on the gold, and there are marked regional variations, with the coins from Īliyā, al-Ruhā and Manbij seeming to be derived from three different images.

These observations do not of course prove that the copper preceded the gold—they merely show that there are arguments on both sides and that we cannot accept the precedence of the gold as proven. However, on balance I believe that the weight of evidence is in favour of the Standing Caliph image having appeared first on copper, at Īliyā. The introduction of the Standing Caliph image combined with the new transformed cross-on-steps reverse at the other copper mints possibly occurred just before the gold solidi were first issued, but the two events were almost certainly very close to each other in time. It is perhaps relevant to add that the Umayyad authorities seem to have been much more tolerant of innovative images on copper than on gold. There are many highly innovative images on the approximately contemporary Arab-Sasanian copper, and within twenty years after the reform of AD 697, innovation was again permitted quite extensively in Syria itself, with animal images on the copper coinage (e.g., Walker 592, 674, 686, etc.), but it was never again permited on gold or silver.

With the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage Bates argued that the images on the earliest solidi were considerably closer to their Byzantine prototypes than were those on the coppers. Therefore the coppers were likely to have followed the gold. This argument is difficult to accept because all of the gold coinage features the elimination of crosses, which hardly ever occurs on the copper. It is thus hard to believe that, having taken this step, the authorities would have allowed its reversal on the copper, and furthermore that almost all mints would have reversed it.[88] The only definitely official gold solidus (cat. 607) also includes the *shahāda*, which is not generally found on the copper until the Standing Caliph series.

The balance of probability in this case therefore seems very much in favour of the Umayyad Imperial Image copper having preceded the first definitely official gold solidus. The possibility remains that the earlier solidi with mutilated crosses and blundered legends (e.g., cat. 606) were issued several years earlier (perhaps under Muᶜāwiya—see discussion in Umayyad Imperial Image section under Gold Solidi), but that would make them irrelevant in the present context as support for a "short chronology".

Qedar's succession of types: There are two main problems with Qedar's proposed order of types. Firstly, Series C seems to comprise mainly the coins attributed in this volume to the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint. These borrow various elements from the Damascus coinage (Series D and E), and as Bates has pointed out, must therefore derive from it (Bates 1994). They cannot therefore be earlier than Series D and E, although they could certainly be largely contemporary. Secondly, the assumption that the all-Greek legends of Series D necessarily come before the mixed legends of Series E is unsupported by the numismatic evidence, which suggests that at least one early variety, the standing emperor from Ḥimṣ, has mixed legends.

Whilst these two problems weaken Qedar's organic growth model, they do not fundamentally undermine the concept of fairly continuous minting which lies at the heart of his revised "long chronology."

The numismatic evidence

This section briefly reviews the question of chronology in the light of recent research on the coins themselves. The following observations are based to quite a large extent on unpublished material:

Hoards: Only three copper "hoards" from the period covered by this catalogue have been published, and none of these was found in controlled excavation, so we cannot be certain that any of them survived as originally deposited. The earliest hoard (Phillips and Goodwin 1997), said to have been found near Hamah in Syria, comprised Byzantine and Pseudo-Byzantine coins. On the basis of the dated Byzantine issues which it contained, the hoard was dated to the early 660s, by which time Pseudo-Byzantine coins were already being produced. One Arabic countermark was present, on a follis of Constans II, but there were no Umayyad Imperial Image coins. The information provided by this hoard is valuable, but needs to be treated with caution until corroborated by other hoards. It is just possible that it was deposited a little later, perhaps in the 670s, and that the absence of the later Byzantine coins, which are in any case far less common in Syria, was due to chance.

The second hoard, the so-called "Irbid" hoard, was partially published by Milstein (1991) and comprised coins from the Damascus, "Pseudo-Damascus" and *al-wafā' lillāh* mints. This group of coins probably represents part of a hoard found east of the Jordan, but it had circulated in the trade and parts of it had been sold separately before

only two Alexandrian coins are listed out of 225 Byzantine and Pseudo-Byzantine coins (Waage 1952).

(88) The only official Umayyad Imperial Image copper coin on which virtually all crosses are eliminated is the rare two-figure type from ᶜAmmān (see Umayyad Imperial Image section, Obverse images, Type VIII).

Milstein's publication.[89] It is therefore of little use in establishing chronology, but it may give a rough picture of the coin population in that area at a point it time perhaps a few years before the reform of circa AD 700.

The third hoard, published by Bates and Kovacs in 1996, comprised 8 Umayyad Imperial Image coins from Scythopolis and Jerash, along with 45 large module Byzantine folles, including 16 of Justin and Sophia. Again this hoard is of little use in establishing chronology, but it provides an indication of the type of coinage that was in circulation in the area of Scythopolis and Jerash.

Overstrikes: The overstriking of one coin type by another is common in 7th century Byzantine coinage and has proved very useful in solving a number of chronological questions. In the Umayyad Imperial Image series, overstriking is rare, but a few examples are known.[90] Before considering what they tell us, it should be understood that all we can deduce from a single overstruck coin is that the undertype was in existence when the coin was overstruck. It does not prove that one issue was later than the other—the issue represented by the undertype may only just have started, whilst that represented by the overstrike may have been about to end. In the absence of other relevant information it is therefore only when a number of overstrikes have been recorded that we can be reasonably certain that one issue follows another. Bearing this warning in mind, the following conclusions can be drawn.

1. Where an Umayyad Imperial Image coin is found overstruck on another Umayyad Imperial coin, by far the most common undertype is the standing emperor variety from Damascus with the Arabic reverse reading *jāza hādha Dimashq wāfiya* (cat. 564). This is overstruck by Damascus standing emperor coins with a normal Arabic reverse *ḍarb dimashq jā'iz* and by some rather distinctive coins of Baalbek. The most plausible explanation for this is that the *jāza hādha* coins were withdrawn and a batch of them retained in the mint for reuse. The Baalbek dies on the overstrikes are quite distinctive, and seem to be part of a group which were produced after an amalgamation of the Damascus and Baalbek mints (see Umayyad Imperial Image section, The mints).

2. At Damascus no examples are known of the normal Arabic reverse (reverse no. 3) overstruck on the Greco-Latin reverse (reverse no. 1) or vice versa. However, the normal Arabic reverse is frequently found as an overstrike on other Umayyad Imperial Image coins, whereas no examples of the equally common Greco-Latin legend are known as overstrikes. This points to the Greco-Latin legend being the earlier of the two, although the extensive muling at Damascus suggests considerable overlap between these two types of reverse.

(89) A large part of the hoard is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and is expected to be published in the near future.

(90) The information on overstrikes is from a survey of several thousand Arab-Byzantine coins which I have carried out over the last eight years. The results so far comprise 32 overstrikes of Umayyad Imperial Image on other Umayyad Imperial Image (plus another 15 or so not identified with absolute certainty), 2 Standing Caliph on Umayyad Imperial Image, plus a number of examples of all types overstruck on earlier coins ranging from Seleucid to Constans II. Full results can be found in Goodwin 2001.

3. One example is known of a standing emperor coin of Damascus with a normal Arabic legend overstruck on a coin of Baalbek, and three instances the other way around, i.e., Baalbek on Damascus. This shows that the two issues were contemporary, and also illustrates the danger of drawing firm chronological conclusions from an isolated overstrike.

4. The Ḥimṣ imperial bust variety (cat. 538 ff.) is found overstruck on normal standing emperor coins of Damascus, the seated emperor variety of Damascus, the standing emperor variety of Ḥimṣ, and a coin of the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint. No instances have yet been found of the imperial bust being overstruck by other Umayyad Imperial Image coins. This evidence strongly suggests that the imperial bust variety is relatively late. It is also certain that it was preceded by the Ḥimṣ standing emperor variety (see Umayyad Imperial Image section under The mints).

5. Two Scythopolis coins are known overstuck on the Ṭabariyya three-figure variety (published in Oddy 1994, p.418, no. 18, and Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar 1999, plate 19, no. B1a). This confirms that the Scythopolis coins are contemporary with other Umayyad Imperial Image coins, and not considerably earlier, as has sometimes been suggested (e.g., Grierson 1982, p.145).

6. A so far unique instance of an Umayyad Imperial Image coin overstruck on a Standing Caliph was also published by Amitai-Preiss, Berman and Qedar, 1999 (plate 17, no. A8a). The overstrike is a Justin and Sophia type coin of Scythopolis, and, whilst the mint of the undertype is not visible, it is clearly not a type from Jund Filasṭīn. This shows that the Umayyad Imperial Image coins must have persisted at Scythopolis when other mints were producing Standing Caliph coins.

7. Standing Caliph coins are more commonly overstruck on earlier coins than are Umayyad Imperial Image coins. Overstrikes are particularly common at Ḥalab, but are normally on Byzantine coins of Heraclius and Constans II. Overstrikes on Umayyad Imperial Image coins are very uncommon, suggesting that these continued to circulate alongside the Standing Caliph coins. Of the two instances recorded, one is of ʿAmmān, overstruck on "Pseudo-Damascus", the other is Ḥimṣ, overstruck on an imperial bust of the same mint, Ḥimṣ. This latter example is interesting because, given the conclusion that the two types circulated together, there would seem to be no incentive to overstrike an imperial bust coin. However, it is possible that this represents the overstriking of a new imperial bust coin before it left the mint when production was switched to the Standing Caliph design. That the Standing Caliph coins of Ḥimṣ directly followed the imperial bust type seems quite likely, given the similarity in module and production methods between the two types.

8. Early post-reform coins are quite commonly overstruck on both Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph coins. Most of the overstrikes carry only the *shahāda* and lack mint name or date, and these are mainly what are generally agreed to be the earliest varieties of post-reform fulūs. In the north of Bilād al-Shām early post-reform coins tend to be reasonably carefully produced, but are sometimes overstruck on earlier coins, particularly

Umayyad Imperial Image types of Ḥimṣ (imperial bust, but not normally the similarly common standing emperor variety) and Baalbek, as well as most Standing Caliph mints. In the south it appears that post-reform fulūs are more frequently found overstruck, again on both Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph coins, but also quite frequently on Pseudo-Byzantine coins.[91] This population of undertypes gives a rough indication of what was circulating just prior to the reform, but a larger sample size is required before drawing any firm conclusions.

Metrology: An analysis of weights or diameters can reveal useful chronological information, for example a weight distribution for a single variety which shows a number of separate peaks could indicate a relatively long period of minting, with gaps between successive emissions. On the other hand, a variety which is issued continuously for a number of years will often show a gradual decline in weight.[92]

The only comprehensive work on metrology has been recently carried out by Bone, which provides the following chronological indicators.[93]

- Most Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph mints have weight/diameter distributions with single modal values. This is consistent with a relatively short continuous period of minting (although by no means proves it). The two exceptions are Ṭabariyya, where two successive stages of minting have already been noted (see the section on Umayyad Imperial Image, Mints), and Scythopolis, where the sample of 64 coins clearly falls into two groups, one from roughly 4g to 8.5g, the other 10g to 15g. The second exception (Scythopolis) is not obvious from the appearance of the coins, as both groups have similar diameters, but it may well demonstrate an extended period of minting with a break in the middle.
- Bone's work shows that, setting aside Scythopolis, there is a clear difference in weight between the main Umayyad Imperial Image mints at just below four grams and main Standing Caliph mints at about three grams. There are, however two main exceptions: Firstly, the larger Standing Caliph variety from Ḥimṣ averages 3.64 g as against 3.75 g for the earlier Umayyad Imperial Image imperial bust type, reinforcing the view that the mint switched directly from imperial bust to Standing Caliph. Secondly the small three-figure varieties of Ṭabariyya with wtih religious legends such as the shahada, have average weights below 3g, reinforcing the view that they could be contemporary with Standing Caliph coins produced elsewhere.

Bone's results from Damascus are rather puzzling, as they show the standing emperor variety with the Greco-Latin reverse to be significantly lighter than the standing emperor type with the normal Arabic reverse, whilst the two-figure type with the same Arabic reverse is significantly lighter than either of them. This is difficult to interpret in terms of gradually decreasing weight, as a sequence beginning with Arabic legends, followed by Greco-Latin and then reverting to the same Arabic seems implausible. However, the data on diameters shows the two standing emperor types to be very similar, whilst the two-figure type is significantly the smallest of all the Damascus obverse/reverse combinations. This provides some support for the contention that the two-figure type was the latest.

Die studies: To my knowledge, comprehensive die studies, as yet unpublished, have only so far been carried out for Ḥimṣ (imperial bust) and Baalbek.[94] The numbers of dies recorded at Ḥimṣ were 61 obverse and 68 reverse (excluding possibly irregular coins), and at Baalbek 46 obverse and 70 reverse (all types, including single figure obverse). The picture which has emerged at Ḥimṣ is of long chains of die linkages with individual obverse dies often being paired with several reverses (and vice versa). No clear chronological development is discernible, in the sense that there is no obvious stylistic development, and the various symbols on the coins seem to occur almost randomly through the die chains.[95] There is no evidence of any break in minting. At Baalbek, the picture is very similar for most of the dies, although the die chains tend to be shorter. However, there is a distinct group of about ten dies which shows affinities with Damascus (see Umayyad Imperial Image section, Mints), and may be the result of the amalgamation of the Baalbek mint with that of Damascus.

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(91) These remarks are based partly on my own recording of these overstrikes, which is, however, based on a smaller sample than for Arab-Byzantine overstrikes described in the previous footnote. In addition to the undertypes mentioned, a few examples are found of post-reform fulūs overstruck on Roman and Byzantine coins. A very useful reference was published by Qedar (1984), who catalogued a hoard of 90 early post-reform fulūs found in the Gaza area. Over half the coins had signs of undertypes, which I would judge to be a much higher proportion than is normal even for the southern portion of Bilād al-Shām. Of the identifiable undertypes, 17 were Pseudo-Byzantine, 15 were Umayyad Imperial Image and 6 were Standing Caliph.

(92) For example, the annually dated Constantinople folles of Heraclius, showing Heraclius in military dress and his son, Heraclius Constantine (MIB 164 and 165). These were issued over a period of ten years starting in 629/630 and almost halve in diameter over this period. The folles of Constans II show a similar decline through most of his reign, but there is a very frequent change of types. The "rule" of declining weight or diameter in long issues of late antique coinage is certainly not infallible, but I know of no examples of gradually increasing weight.

(93) Bone 2000. This work includes the most comprehensive classification of Umayyad copper coinage to date, as well as a discussion of the early administration of Bilād al-Shām.

(94) The work on Ḥimṣ/Emesa has been carried out by Andrew Oddy, and that on Baalbek by myself. We both hope to publish full results in 2002.

(95) Setting aside a distinct small group of irregular coins, the style, module and method of production from the Ḥimṣ imperial bust series is remarkably consistent. The one area of variability is in the obverse and reverse symbols, consisting of stars, birds' eyes and short wavy lines which were first described in detail by Oddy in 1987. It might have been expected that a die study would reveal either a series of separate officinae using different symbols or a gradual progression from one set of symbols to the next. The latter would be an indication of a longer period minting. In fact, Oddy tells me that he has found neither of these in his die study, and that the combinations of symbols appear almost randomly. I have found exactly the same at Baalbek, where the three different reverse "officina" symbols appear to occur randomly on the same die chain.

These results are consistent with quite a short period of minting for these two mints. Any estimate of the actual period, based on the data presently available, must be somewhat subjective, but a period of no more than about five years would be a reasonable rough estimate. If it was much longer than this, we would expect to find stylistic development, evidence of breaks in production, or evidence of gradually decreasing module, features which have not been observed for these two mints.

Countermarks: The countermarking of Byzantine and Pseudo-Byzantine coins has already been described. These countermarks very occasionally also occur on Umayyad Imperial Image coins. The recorded instances are as follows:[96]

- Seven on the Standing Emperor variety of Ḥimṣ (cat. 531 ff.) (two different types of countermark).
- Two on coins from the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint (cat. 595 ff.).
- One on the Standing Emperor variety of Damascus with Greco-Latin reverse (cat. 560 ff.).

Although only a few types have been noted on Umayyad Imperial Image coins, in all, many different countermarks are known. They may not all be exactly contemporary, but for the majority of countermarks there is a reasonable degree of consistency in the population of countermarked coins, i.e., a preponderance of Pseudo-Byzantine, together with smaller numbers of Byzantine (almost always of Constans II) and even smaller numbers of Umayyad Imperial Image coins. This suggests that most of the countermarks were applied during roughly the same period. The small number and the relatively few varieties of Umayyad Imperial Image coins which are found countermarked also suggest that countermarking ceased in the early days of the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. If this is the case, it would be reasonable to regard the three varieties of Umayyad Imperial Image coins listed above as relatively early. However, the evidence is only reasonably strong in the case of the Ḥimṣ Standing Emperor coins, and more examples are needed before drawing firm conclusions.

Excavation evidence: Foss has recently reviewed the evidence from excavation reports and, as he concluded, this is so far very disappointing in terms of throwing light on chronology.[97] No useful stratified data has yet been published, and other than at Jerash, only very low numbers of Umayyad Imperial Image and Standing Caliph coins have been recorded. This in itself may be significant, suggesting that these coins never dominated the monetary stock. Quite large quantities of Byzantine and Pseudo-Byzantine coins are recorded at some sites, but often inadequately and without a proper distinction between the two series.

The only area where excavation data has made a major contribution is in fixing the date when the import of Byzantine coinage was drastically curtailed to 658/659.[98]

General criteria for dating

Apart from the numismatic research described above we should also consider the more general criteria of iconography, stylistic development, and the development of legends, all of which have the potential to provide chronological information.

Iconography and style: Walker placed considerable emphasis on the image of the Byzantine prototype in his method of dating, in particular whether the obverse showed Heraclius or Constans II, or the reverse had a capital **M** or **m**. It is now clear that, even in the period of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, die engravers were prepared to borrow freely from the designs of either emperor, so the choice has no chronological significance (see Pseudo-Byzantine section).

One possible clue to the terminal date of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage is the latest Byzantine prototype used.

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(96) These results are quoted from Goodwin 2000. They do not include the very small punch marks found on the imperial bust coins of Ḥimṣ, or the *ṭayyib* countermarks which occur frequently on the coins of Jerash (and occasionally of Scythopolis as well). Both of these countermarks were probably applied in the mint itself, and are not found on Pseudo-Byzantine coins.

(97) Foss 2000. He analyses finds from Antioch, Dehes, Apamea, Hama, Pella and Jerash. Since Foss wrote his article, three other reports have appeared, all relating to sites in Jund al-Urdunn. None of them throws significant new light on the chronological problems, but they contain some useful information on the types of coinage in circulation.

The first of these, Moorhead 1997, deals with the small site of Tel Jezreel, near Scythopolis. The only firmly identified coins from the time of the Arab conquest until the reform were four Constans II folles, two of which may have been imitative, and one three-figure Umayyad Imperial Image coin of Ṭabariyya.

The second, Amitai-Preiss and Berman 1997, describes the Muslim coins found at the larger site of Hammat Gader, near the southern end of the Sea of Galilee. The coins were in corroded condition, and one or two of the attributions seem doubtful. Of the positively identified Umayyad Imperial Image coins, two were from Damascus, one from Scythopolis and eight from nearby Ṭabariyya. There were no Standing Caliph coins.

The third publication, Marot 1998, used the evidence of 1600 coins, found during the excavation of the Macellum at Jerash, to investigate coin circulation patterns from the 2nd to the 9th century AD. This is the only one of the three sites to yield meaningful stratigraphy, but not sufficiently differentiated to help greatly with the chronological problems under consideration here. It does, however, confirm the proponderance of the large module folles in this area, but shows that small module folles of Heraclius and Constans II, plus Pseudo-Byzantine coins, also circulated. The only Umayyad Imperial Image coins identified were four from Scythopolis and five identifed as Gerasa (although two look doubtful from the plates). There were three Standing Caliph coins, including one of the mintless variety with an **M** reverse (cat. 716).

(98) See Phillips and Goodwin 1997 (part II, pp. 75 ff.) for a detailed analysis of excavation evidence. The phenomenon of extensive imports of Constans II folles seems to have first been properly documented by Mackensen in 1983, who listed Syrian excavations with Constans II coins recorded. We used these excavation reports plus a number of others to build up a large sample of the types of Constans II folles found at sites inside and outside Syria. The results were consistent and showed that the secondary peak in production of coinage late in Constans' reign was not reflected at the Syrian sites. Imports seem to have reduced very significantly in about 658/659. The conclusions were corroborated by examining commercial parcels of coins, which often represent a rough sample of the coin types found in a particular area, albeit with the probability that the obviously rare coins are sometimes picked out and removed.

Images of Constantine IV occur, but only very rarely, a fact that suggests that the Pseudo-Byzantine series came to an end after Constantine's accession in 668, and probably not long after this date.[99] However, given the absence of Umayyad Imperial Image coinage from Jund Qinnasrīn, it is possible that production of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage continued in that area right up to the start of the Standing Caliph series (see Ilisch 2001b).

Stylistic development can be a useful criterion for establishing a relative chronology, but at most mints it is difficult to discern significant development within individual varieties, and this in itself is an indicator of a relatively short period of minting.[100] Two instances have been noted of apparent borrowing of designs from one mint by another. Firstly, the "Pseudo-Damascus" mint clearly borrowed elements from Damascus, and therefore must have started minting after Damascus. Secondly, Diospolis (Ludd) seems to have borrowed some unusual elements of its reverse from Scythopolis, as noted in the Umayyad Imperial Image section (also footnote 50).

Another potentially useful, but somewhat subjective, stylistic criterion is how closely particular varieties of Umayyad Imperial Image coins resemble their Pseudo-Byzantine predecessors. Standing emperor coins of Jerusalem and Diospolis show a very close resemblance, which extends also to the fabric of at least some examples. This suggests they *may* be close in date to the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, and therefore early examples of the Umayyad Imperial Image series. The obverse of the standing emperor coins of Ḥimṣ also seems to be closer in style to Pseudo-Byzantine coins than are obverses of other mints, and their fabric is also often similar, again suggesting an early date for this type.[101]

Legends: Until recently most writers have assumed that the Greek legends of Byzantine coins gradually gave way to the all-Arabic legends of the Standing Caliph series; they thus regarded types with all-Greek legends as by definition early. This proposition has been questioned by Treadwell (2000), who proposed that a better criterion for an early date was the inclusion of a word signifying validation, which could be in either Greek or Arabic (e.g., KAΛON or *ṭayyib*). This questioning is supported by the numismatic evidence described above, which very strongly suggests that the Ḥimṣ standing emperor type bearing Arabic *ṭayyib* is an early issue. However, at Damascus the somewhat confusing evidence is slightly in favour of the Greco-Latin reverse, which lacks a validation word in either Greek or Arabic, as the earliest issue (see section on Overstrikes). Also, the coins of Scythopolis, Diospolis and Jerusalem are all likely to be early, yet all lack a validation word (other than the countermark of *ṭayyib* on some Scythopolis coins). In summary, therefore, neither the "Greek First" rule nor the "validating word" rule are entirely reliable in identifying early issues, although both may be useful indicators to a limited extent. However, it does seem implausible that a mint would revert to an all-Greek legend after having had Arabic or mixed legends.

A second useful dating clue is the occurrence of the *shahāda* on the mintless imperial image solidi (cat. 607), a rare mintless two-figure coin (Walker Kh.1) and a three-figure variety presumed to be from Ṭabariyya (cat. 593). The *shahāda* is first found in the short version on Arab-Sasanian coins in AH 66 (AD 685/686) (cat. 151-155), whereas the full version, as found on the solidi, does not occur on the Arab-Sasanian coins until AH 72 (AD 691/692).[102] In Syria it only becomes common on the Standing Caliph coinage. It is therefore reasonable to infer that coins with the *shahāda* are late in the Umayyad Imperial Image series and may even be contemporary with the Standing Caliph coinage.

The start of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage

Unfortunately, none of the above techniques or approaches have proved to be of much use in establishing an accurate starting date for the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage. It is clear that this coinage is associated in some way with the drastic reduction in the volume of imports of official Byzantine coinage in the late 650s. However, it is by no means clear whether the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage represents a response to this reduction, or whether the reduction followed a realisation that imports were no longer necessary because of the large volume of locally produced copies. In the first instance we would have a reasonably firm starting date of around 660, but in the second the starting date could be anywhere between 641 and the mid-650s. It is also possible that the true situation was intermediate between

(99) The only imitation of Constantine IV found in any quantity is the Type I Pseudo-Byzantine (cat. 530), and this is quite rare. As for other types, in examining thousands of Pseudo-Byazntine coins I have only come across one specimen that imitates Constantine IV (in a private collection). This one has a bust with a spear held diagonally, as on Constantine IV's Byzantine solidi, together with a cursive **m** reverse. Both Constantine IV prototypes belong to the first few years of his reign, thus not long after 668.

(100) The one exception is the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage of Damascus where there appears to be a good deal of variation in style, complicated by uncertainty about whether or not some of these coins are regular. A study is required on the lines of those already undertaken for Ḥimṣ (imperial bust type) and Baalbek. This will be a considerably greater task than for either Ḥimṣ or Baalbek, but until it has been accomplished, it would be premature to draw any firm conclusions concerning stylistic variation at Damascus.

(101) The majority of figures on Umayyad Imperial Image coinage are not close copies of the Byzantine prototype; they are neat and rather stylised, with certain parts of the imperial dress or regalia misunderstood. For example, on the standing emperor coins of Damascus the outline of the imperial robe is usually shown unrealistically and often acts as a support for the globus cruciger. The coins of Jerusalem, Diospolis and Ḥimṣ sometimes bear quite faithful copies of the image of Constans II as found on standard Byzantine folles, but sometimes they bear rather careless copies. This is precisely the degree of stylistic variation found on Pseudo-Byzantine coins. The flans at all three mints are often of the same irregular shape as Pseudo-Byzantine coins, although examples of these issues are sometimes found with neat round flans like the majority of Umayyad Imperial Image coinage. An even closer link between Pseudo-Byzantine and Umayyad Imperial Image coinage occurs at Ḥimṣ, for which I know of two coins that apparently match a Pseudo-Byzantine obverse bearing a blundered ENTOUTO NIKA legend with a normal Umayyad Imperial Image reverse of Ḥimṣ (e.g., Goodwin 1995, no. 14). These might possibly be "transitional" issues combining a current die with an obsolete die, though it is perhaps more likely that they are contemporary unofficial copies.

(102) Treadwell 1999, pp. 243 ff., points out that the introduction of the *shahāda* on Arab-Sasanian coinage was a Zubayrid initiative, later accepted by the Marwānids as well.

these two models, i.e., a low initial volume of minting followed by a significant increase just after the imports were curtailed. On balance I am inclined to regard this as the most likely model, but confirmation will not be possible until either some closely datable hoards, or examples of dated folles of Constans II overstruck on Pseudo-Byzantine coins are found.

Summary and conclusions

In summary, the following chronological points can be considered as certain or nearly certain (references in brackets are to the main relevant discussion in the preceding text):

- Imports of Byzantine coins were greatly curtailed within a year or two of 658/659, and the production of Pseudo-Byzantine coins started shortly before or shortly after this date (footnote 98).
- The production of Pseudo-Byzantine coins largely ceased soon after the accession of Constantine IV in 668 (footnote 99).
- Two separate issues were produced at Ḥimṣ. The first was the standing emperor type and the second the imperial bust type. Given the very different production methods for the two issues and the lack of transitional types, there may well have been a gap of several years between the two issues (Umayyad Imperial Image section: Mints: Ḥimṣ, p. 85; also Chronology section: Overstrikes, p. 102).
- The Damascus standing emperor variety with Arabic *jāza hādha dimashq wāfiya* on the reverse was withdrawn and overstruck. It cannot therefore be the last issue of the mint, and may be relatively early (Chronology section: Overstrikes, p. 102).
- The "Pseudo-Damascus" mint must have started production after Damascus (Umayyad Imperial Image section: Mints: Pseudo-Damascus, p. 87).
- The Baalbek two-figure and Ḥimṣ imperial bust issues were both of relatively short duration, probably no more than about five years (Chronology section: Die Studies, p. 103).
- The Standing Caliph coinage with transformed cross-on-steps reverse was introduced at all mints apart from those in the Junds Filasṭīn or al-Urdunn by 694 (Chronology section: Gold before copper, p. 100).
- The Standing Caliph coinage with transformed cross-on-steps reverse was of relatively short duration compared to the Umayyad Imperial Image and the post-reform coinage (see Standing Caliph section: General comments, p. 92).

In addition, the following points can be considered probable:

- In the Umayyad Imperial Image series, Ḥimṣ (Standing Emperor), Scythopolis, Diospolis, Jerusalem and perhaps coins from the *al-wafā' lillāh* mint are all relatively early (Umayyad Imperial Image section: Mints, p. 85; also Chronology section: Countermarks and General criteria for dating, p. 104).
- The Standing Caliph type started at Īliyā (Jerusalem) earlier than at other mints (Standing Caliph: Mints: Īliyā, p. 98).
- Umayyad Imperial Image coins with the *shahāda* legends are late, and may be contemporary with Standing Caliph issues elsewhere (Chronology section: Legends. p. 105).
- Jund al-Urdunn continued producing Umayyad Imperial Image coins at Ṭabariyya and Baysān (Scythopolis) after Standing Caliph coins had been introduced elsewhere (Umayyad Imperial Image section: Mints: Ṭabariyya and Baysān, p. 88; also Chronology section: Overstrikes, Metrology, and Legends, p. 102).
- Umayyad Imperial Image coinage of Damascus presents the most confusing picture. The relative complexity of the series argues for a longer period of minting at Damascus than at either Baalbek or Ḥimṣ (imperial bust), but the high degree of muling between the main types shows that some of these types were manufactured concurrently. However, it is probable that the standing and seated emperor types with Greco-Latin legends came first, whereas the two-figure variety was last (Umayyad Imperial Image section: Mints: Damascus, p. 86; also Chronology section: Overstrikes, p. 102).

A model which seems to best fit the above conclusions is proposed below. It acknowledges Bates' observations on the relatively short duration of of the main Umayyad Imperial Image issues, but proposes that certain Umayyad Imperial Image coins pre-date these, giving almost continuous minting throughout the period as suggested by Qedar. The main differences from Treadwell's working model for the Umayyad Imperial Image coinage are in matters of detail, although the overall period of minting for these coins is somewhat less than he proposed (non-copper items are dated in italics in the following table).

ca.640-late 650s	Most of the demand for new copper coins is met by the officially sanctioned import of Byzantine folles.
late 650s/-670s	Main period of production of Pseudo-Byzantine coinage by mints which are subject to some form of official control at a municipal level. Countermarking also takes place during this period to validate coins in particular cities.
675-680	The first Umayyad Imperial Image coins are issued, as a municipal initiative, at Scythopolis, Diospolis, Jerusalem and most importantly at Ḥimṣ (standing emperor type).
mid-680s	Umayyad Imperial Image coins issued from some other mints, still as a local initiative, perhaps Ṭabariyya as well as the first issues of Damascus.
685-690	Start of the main period of minting Umayyad Imperial Image coinage, shortly after the accession of ʿAbd al-Malik in 685, with

	some degree of centralised coordination. Distinctive types produced at Damascus (standing emperor), Ḥimṣ (imperial bust), Baalbek (two-figure), Ṭabariyya (three-figure) and probably Jerusalem (Standing Caliph). This period lasts perhaps about five years.
late 680s	"Pseudo-Damascus" mint enters into production at an unknown southern location east of the Jordan River.
690-694	A centrally coordinated monetary reform extends the Standing Caliph image to virtually all mints and introduces a new reverse in the northern and central Junds, the transformed cross-on-steps. Several new mints open in Jund Qinnasrīn. All this occurs either shortly before or very shortly after the production of the first Standing Caliph gold coins. Mints in Jund al-Urdunn follow an independent line, with Scythopolis continuing for a short time with its old coinage and producing some experimental types, whilst Ṭabariyya produces small three-figure coins with religious legends.
694-697+	Continuation of the Standing Caliph coinage and possibly a few rare Umayyad Imperial Image types.
692-697	Experimental precious metal coinage in both gold and silver, produced under caliphal control, including Arab-Sasanian drachms (some dated AH 72, 73, 74 and 75), the solidus with *shahāda* reverse (undated), and the Standing Caliph dinars (dated AH 74, 75, 76 and 77). None of these appear to have circulated extensively and all are exceeding rare today.
697	Beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's reform of the currency. First post-reform epigraphic gold dinars issued (dated AH 77).
698	Experimental epigraphic dirhams first issued, dated AH 78.[103]
699+	Standard post-reform epigraphic dirhams issued at Damascus and at more than 30 other mints throughout Iraq and Iran in the year AH 79.
697-702	At an unknown date, which must have been within a very few years after the AH 77 gold reform, the first post-reform epigraphic copper coins are minted throughout Bilād al-Shām. The Umayyad Imperial Image and the Standing Caliph coinage are withdrawn.

(103) The experimental dirhams were struck only at al-Kūfa, Armīniya and Ādharbāyjān. A total of 4 or 5 specimens are known today. There is also a unique dirham of the standard epigraphic type dated 78 from the Iranian mint of Shaqq al-Taymara (ANS collection), but it is not known whether the date is correct or an engraver's mistake.

The above chronology will almost certainly prove to be wrong in some respects, but at present I believe that it provides the best fit with the information that is slowly being extracted from the increasing accumulation of extant coins.

Egyptian Arab-Byzantine coinage

Under Byzantine rule, Egypt had operated a separate system of copper coinage, different from that of the rest of the empire. The basic unit was a copper coin of rather thick fabric, bearing the denomination of 12 nummi, known as a dodecanummium. The obverse image consists of a bust or standing figure of the emperor, whilst the reverse has the letters I B for "12", sometimes with a cross or cross-on-steps between the two letters, together with the mintmark AΛΕΞ (for Alexandria) in the exergue. Smaller coins of 6 (S) and 3 (Γ) nummi also exist, but are far less common than the main 12-nummi denomination. In addition to large numbers of reasonably well-produced coins, there exist coins of irregular appearance that may be contemporary forgeries or official mint issues of poor workmanship. Egyptian Byzantine coins are found not just in Egypt itself, but quite frequently in the southern part of Bilād al-Shām (see footnote 87).

Unlike the situation in Bilād al-Shām, where the major mint had been closed several years before the Arab conquest, minting continued in Egypt right up to the conquest in AD 642. It may also have taken place during the brief recapture of Alexandria by the Byzantines in 645, as there are two distinct issues for Constans II (641-668), one standing emperor type (MIB 189) and one with a facing bust that seems to be the equivalent of a type issued in year 3 at Constantinople (MIB 188).

In fact, the mint at Alexandria may have remained open throughout the 640s and continued to operate under the new rulers with the same personnel. Certainly, the distinction between official Byzantine and Pseudo-Byzantine coins is much less clear than in Syria. However, there are a number of distinctive types which can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to the period of Arab rule. These were first described in detail by Awad in 1972, and the subject has recently been revisited by Domaszewicz and Bates in an as yet unpublished article.[104] They were working with a much larger group of coins than previous researchers, and were better able to judge which coins were merely rather poor examples of a Byzantine issue, and which coins appeared to constitute a separate issue under the Muslim conquerors. They assigned three main varieties to the period after the conquest:

AI. (MIB Constans II X37, not in collection) **Obverse:** Crude standing emperor, sometimes without cross above crown. **Reverse:** I B with cross-on-globe between and blundered AΛΕΞ in the exergue. Some of these coins are very small, and the authors suggested that there may have been two denominations, though without distinctive Greek letters for the denomination.

(104) L. Domaszewicz and M.L. Bates, "The Copper Coinage of Egypt in the Seventh Century", for publication in the forthcoming Festschrift for Dr Henry Amin Awad. I am grateful to Michael Bates for permission to quote from this article.

AII. (MIB Constans II X35; cat. 735 is very similar to this variety but has a variant exergual legend) **Obverse:** Crude imperial bust with short beard, apparently with crosses eliminated. The cross of the globus is replaced with a palm branch and there is a star with the letter A below. **Reverse:** I B with M between and A above, along with ABAZ in the exergue.

AIII. (cat. 732-734) **Obverse:** Crude three-quarter length facing imperial figure holding long cross and globus cruciger, with star below the globus. **Reverse:** I B with cross-on-globe between and MACP in the exergue.

Type **AI** clearly copies the Alexandrian standing emperor dodecanummium of Constans II (MIB 189), and is probably the earliest of the three varieties. **AII** is derived from the other Alexandrian Constans II type (MIB 188), but is different from it in detail. **AIII** has no obvious direct Byzantine prototype. The elimination of crosses on **AII** might suggest that it is the latest, but Domaszewicz and Bates plausibly argue that **AII** and **AIII** may be the products of different mints. They suggest that **AIII** could be from an official mint at al-Fusṭāṭ, whilst **AII** is more likely to be a "private or semi-official" issue from a mint of undetermined location.

Conflicting views have been put forward on the significance of the exergual legends on **AII** and **AIII**, with some regarding them as meaningless blunders and others as actual mint names. The MACP (or MACAP) legend is a reasonable Greek transliteration of the Arabic مصر (*miṣr*), and, although often slightly blundered, is written reasonably consistently. It therefore seems logical to regard it as a unique instance of an Arabic mint name being rendered into Greek.[105] The word *miṣr* was used to signify the new garrison town, and capital of Egypt, al-Fusṭāṭ, which presumably did not have an original Greek name that could have been used on the coins. ABAZ is more problematic, because it does not accord with a known city or governor and it is sufficiently similar to AΛΕΞ to be considered a blundered version of the Byzantine mint signature. However, it is also usually written fairly consistently, and it would be surprising for almost all blundered AΛΕΞ mintmarks to be virtually the same, given that coins with the correct Alexandria mint signature must have still been common. On balance, therefore, I would be included to regard ABAZ as meaningful, though still unidentified.

Domaszewicz and Bates rejected two other types which Awad had considered to be imitations produced after the Arab conquest:

UI. A three-figure type (MIB Heraclius 206 ff.). The authors noted a continuous spectrum from reasonably good style to crude style, but could find no criteria for identifying a particular group as imitative.

UII. A rather strange series of coins, with an obverse bearing two imperial busts, together with a reverse, atypical of Alexandria, containing an alpha and omega either side of a cross-on-steps and the "mint name" ΠAN or ΠON within the exergue (MIB Heraclius X48). Domaszewicz and Bates rejected a reading of the mint name as Panopolis and pointed out that this coin seems to copy many features of the Heraclian half follis from Rome (MIB Heraclius 243), suggesting that the coins might even have originated outside Egypt. However, this last suggestion is difficult to support, given the number found in Egypt and the lack of recorded finds elsewhere. Given the lack of any denomination mark, a feature of all Byzantine Egyptian copper coinage, and the unusual fabric (some examples look to have been cast rather than struck), it is even possible that these are not coins at all but some form of token. For the moment they remain something of an enigma, but the possibility that they date from the early Islamic period cannot be completely ruled out.

The earliest Egyptian post-reform copper fulūs are undated, like those from Bilād al-Shām, and there is no intermediate stage equivalent to the Standing Caliph. The date when minting of Byzantine style coppers ceased in Egypt is therefore uncertain.

The Ashmolean Museum possesses only four examples of Egyptian Arab-Byzantine coins. Three of these are of variety **AIII**, but they are well-preseved examples and give a good idea of the range of styles and sizes for this variety.

The pre-reform coinage of North Africa and Spain

The last seven coins in the catalogue are a very small sample of the extensive pre-reform coinage of North Africa and Spain. This coinage is pre-reform in the sense that it retains Byzantine (and in one case, Roman) images or uses Latin inscriptions. However, most if not all these coins were issued well after the reforms of AH 77-79, and are therefore contemporary with the purely epigraphic coinage of Bilād al-Shām, which will be the subject of a future volume (vol.2).

North African and Spanish coinage was covered quite extensively by Walker, but his work is now rather outdated and his readings of the difficult Latin inscriptions present an unduly complicated picture. A more up-to-date treatment will be found in Balaguer 1976 and in two articles by Bates, 1992 and 1996. The following notes will only attempt a brief overview with particular reference to the few coins in the collection.

The conquest of North Africa commenced in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya and a new provincial capital was founded at al-Qayrawān in AH 60 (AD 680-681). Over the following decades the Arabs faced determined resistance, mainly from the Berbers, but Carthage was taken from the Byzantines in AH 76 and the invasion of Spain commenced in AH 92. As at Alexandria, the Byzantine mint at Carthage continued in operation right up to the conquest, and a dated solidus (MIB 18b) of Justinian II (first reign, 685-695) is known for his year 10 (AH ~76). The products of this mint had broadly followed the normal Byzantine denominations, but were of distinctive style and fabric, the gold coins being much smaller and thicker than those produced at Constantinople. It is quite possible that minting resumed immediately after the conquest, because this same fabric was adopted for the earliest gold coins

(105) Although this particular transliteration into Greek is unique, a near parallel occurs on one rare Umayyad post-reform copper fals (Walker Kh.9), on which the mint name for Alexandria is abbreviated in Greek on an otherwise completely normal Arabic epigraphic coin.

issued by the Arabs in Africa, probably, but not certainly, at a mint in Carthage. These were issued on the local Byzantine weight standard in three denominations, the solidus together with the semissis and tremissis (half and third solidus, respectively). They used as their prototype a solidus issued by Heraclius over forty years before, which was presumably still in circulation and did not have the adverse political connotations of a current Byzantine issue. The obverse has two imperial busts and the reverse a transformed cross-on-steps. The type of transformed cross indicates the denomination, with the solidus and semissis having a cross terminating in a globe (but on different numbers of steps), whilst that of the tremissis terminates in a horizontal bar. The legends, all in Latin, were initially monotheistic rather than specifically Islamic, for example "Deus Tuus Deus et Alius Non Est" (slightly abbreviated), which can be read as "God is your God, there is no other", but afterwards Latin translations of the standard *shahāda* were used. The series probably commenced before AH 80 and may well have lasted around ten years.

Copper coins of similar style and size were also issued and these are quite close copies of the tremissis (cat. 736-737). The legends, which normally roughly follow those on the gold, are notoriously difficult to decipher, as they use an unusual alphabet, an inconsistent system of abbreviations, and are often wholly or partially retrograde, as well as heavily blundered. Nevertheless, it is clear that a few of them mention the governor of North Africa, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (circa AH 80-85), together with the mint name Ṭarābulus (Tripolis, now Tripoli in Libya) (Walker 159 ff.). All these copper coins have the appearance of originating from a single mint, but it is possible that they come from two mints (Tripoli and Carthage?) or that the mint was moved at some stage from one city to another.

Copper coins of a different style and fabric were also issued, presumably from another mint (perhaps al-Qayrawān??), and dated AH 80. These have a Byzantine style bearded imperial bust, perhaps copied from a solidus of Constans II, together with a transformed cross-on-steps surmounted by a globe on the reverse (cat. 738-739). Inscriptions are in Arabic and name an otherwise unknown official by the name of al-Nuᶜmān (النعمان).

A separate series of gold, with the same denominations, was issued from another mint, perhaps al-Qayrawān. These have an epigraphic obverse and a transformed cross-on-steps reverse denoting the denomination for the semissis and tremissis, whilst the solidus is purely epigraphic on both faces. Legends are again religious formulae, always in Latin, but on the full solidi they include an indictional date, starting with year 2 (assigned to AH 84/AD 703-704). It used to be thought that these followed the Byzantine style coins, but Bates (1996) has convincingly argued that they represent a parallel issue (although they may have started slightly later), because they follow the same evolution from monotheistic to Islamic legends. The collection contains just one coin from this series, a tremissis (cat. 740).

Soon after the Spanish invasion, the second North African gold mint seems to have been moved to Spain, where it produced solidi of similar style, but with a prominent star on the obverse and the mint name Spania in Latin, dated to AH 93 and 94 (cat. 742). In AH 94, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr returned to Africa, and it appears that the mint returned with him because solidi of that date exist with Latin mint names of both Africa and Spain. Subsequently, a short-lived issue with both Arabic and Latin legends was produced in both Africa and Spain, followed by the final reform in AH 100, when purely Arabic epigraphic dinars were at last introduced, 23 years after their commencement in Damascus.

Cat. 741 is a rather rare copper coin (Walker P.28 ff.) from the mint of Ṭanja (modern Tangier), which can only be dated very approximately by analogy with the North African coins described above. Its obverse bears a Roman style imperial head with a heavily blundered legend around, which seems to be similar to the religious legends described above, rather than a copy of the legend on the prototype Roman coin. The reverse is epigraphic, with legends in Arabic, and the mint name is clearly written on at least some examples. By analogy with the copper coins above, a date after AH 80 is probable. However, given the remote mint location, it is even possible that it was issued after the reform of AH 100, although the style of the Kūfic script rules out a very much later date.

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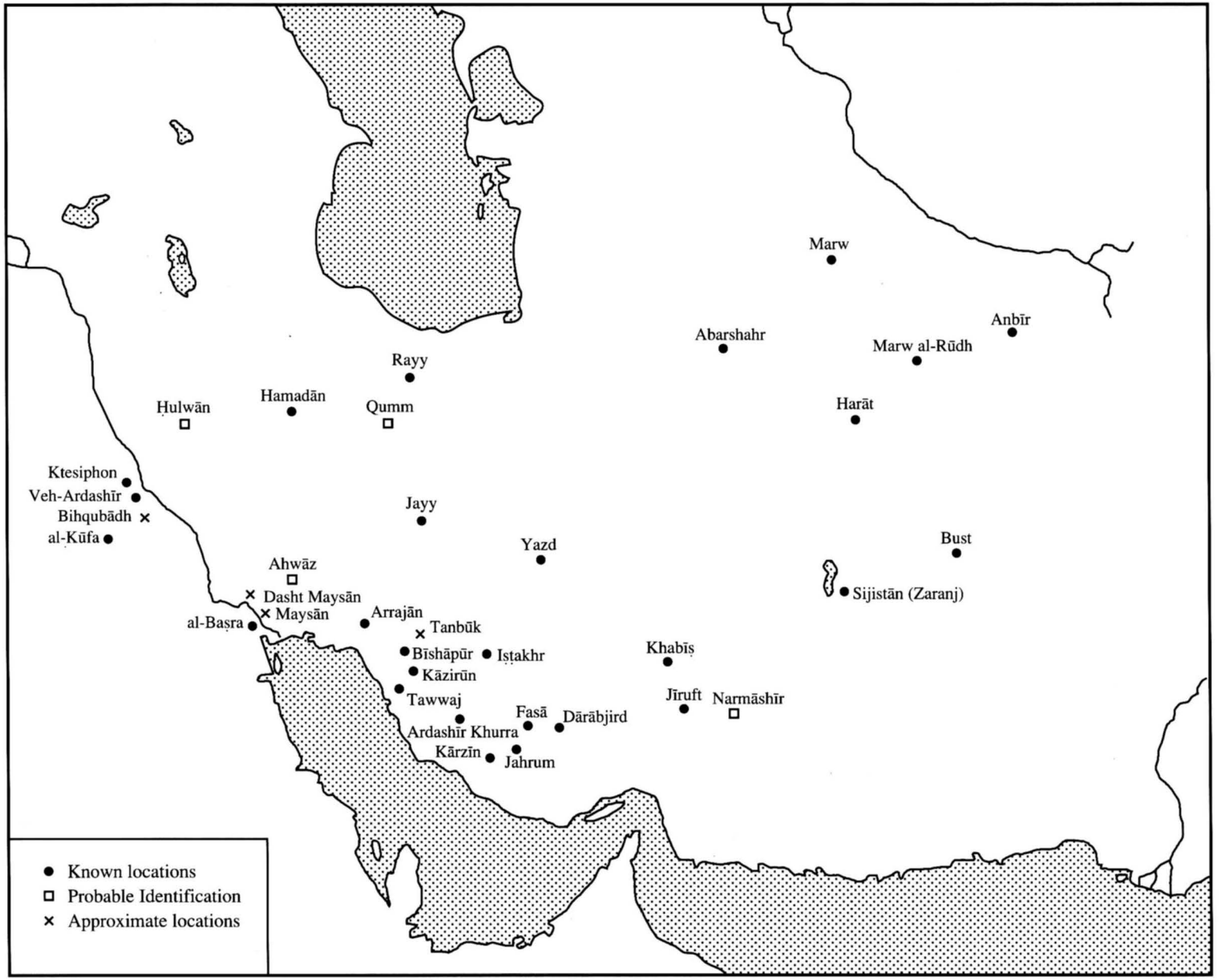
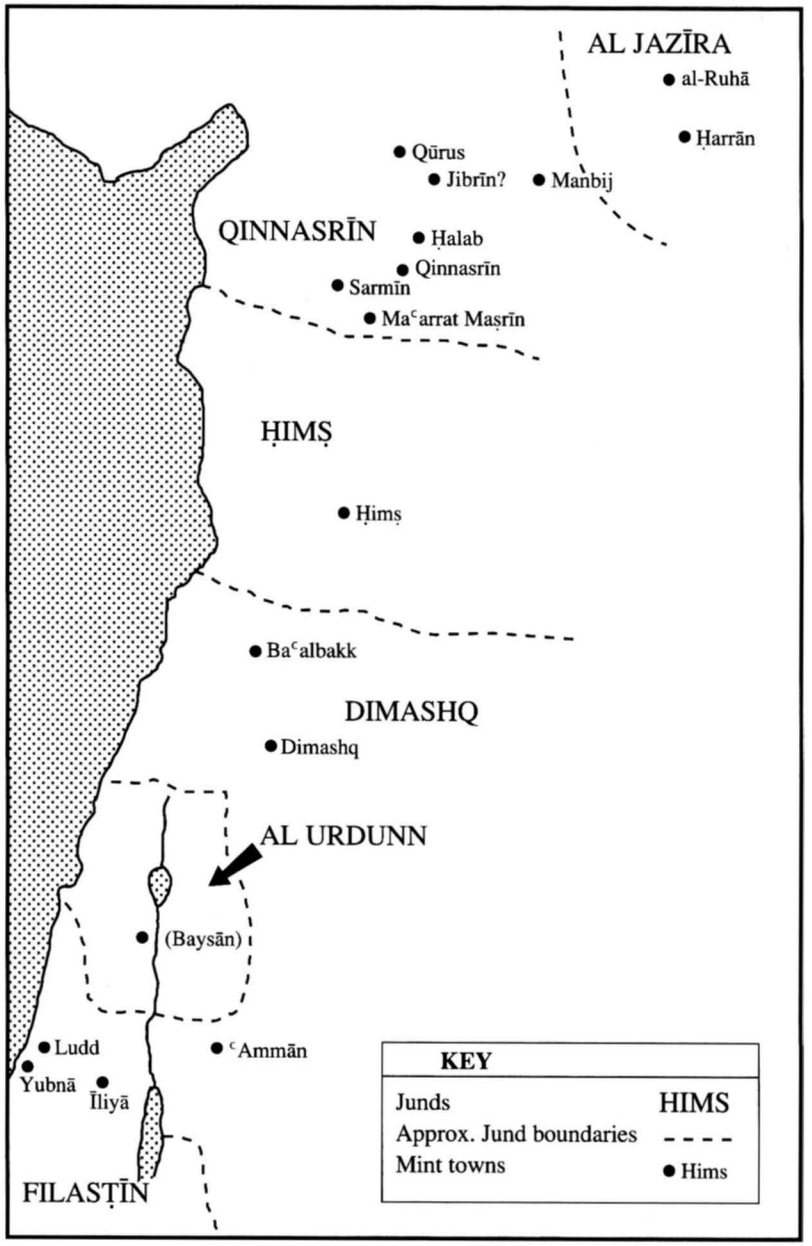


Arab – Sasanian mints



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BREAST ORNAMENTS						
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B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	
B13	B14	B15				

CATALOGUE

AHM (Hamadān)

Khusraw type with bism allāh.

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTWYST. Margin plain.

YE 27 (began 2 Muḥarram 38)

1 AR 12h 3.42g – Heavily corroded, especially on obverse [gift, D.R. Walker, 1991].

AKWLA (al-Kūfa)

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date DWŠST. Margin plain.

AH 62

2 AR 3h 2.74g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7550].

3 AR 3h 3.37g – Clipped [Shamma 7559].

4 AR 3h 4.10g – [Shamma 7521].
All different dies.

Bishr b. Marwān

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: BŠYR Y / MRWANAN (sic). Margin: — DYN / *bism allāh muḥammad / rasūl allāh* / —. Rev: *Orans* type. Star left, hands RR, date in Pahlavi numerals. Margin plain.

AH 75

5* AR 4h 4.13g – [purchase, Baldwin's, 1981, = Sotheby's, 15 October 1980, lot 16 = Treadwell 1999, p.264, no. A11].

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDRAMAN / Y APDLAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date in Pahlavi numerals, margin probably plain, mint and date positions reversed. The type normally has a fourth outer circle on the reverse, but the margin is clipped away on this specimen; the outer margin is visible on Gaube no. 38.

AH 79

6 AR 3h 2.16g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7482, = Treadwell 1999, p.268, not numbered].

ANBYR (Anbīr)

"Gorigo Shah"

Obv: Earring as noted, B0, no crescent, standard crown coarsely engraved. Name (facing inward): ζολοοο / γωζογονο. Margin: (tamga) / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) GDH AFZWN / —. Rev: Star left, hands LL, date as indicated, mint and date positions reversed. Margin: ομβιρο / AFZWN (pellet) / (pellet) GDH / γοριγο ροοηο.

AH 68

7* AR 4h 3.67g – E1, date HŠTŠS (sic). Same dies as Göbl 1967, Emission 275.1 and 275.2. Position of reverse star and crescent on this specimen is unclear [Shamma 7427].

8 AR 4h 3.68g – E0, date HŠT. [gift, Rev. J.C. Murray, 1900; = Walker Ox.8 = Göbl Emission 279].

9 AR 3h 3.72g – E0, date HŠTS but very crudely engraved. The inscription γοριγο ροοηο is inverted relative to ομβιρο [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859, = Walker Ox.7 = Göbl Emission 278].

ART (Ardashīr Khurra)

Khusraw type with bism allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠSH. Margin plain.

AH? 36

10* AR 3h 3.64g – [Shamma 7623].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir (b. Kurayz)

Obv: E0, B1, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y AMWRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star right or left, hands LR, date as noted. Margin plain.

AH 47

11 AR 4h 2.16g – Star right, date HFT[C]HL with C omitted; clipped [Shamma 7492].

12 AR 3h 4.03g – Star left, date correctly HFTCHL; different dies [purchase, Sotheby's, 25 April 1979, lot 4].

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, fillet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN without *iḍāfa*. Margin: — / *bism allāh rabbī* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date AYWPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 51

13 AR 3h 2.77g – Clipped [Shamma 7477].

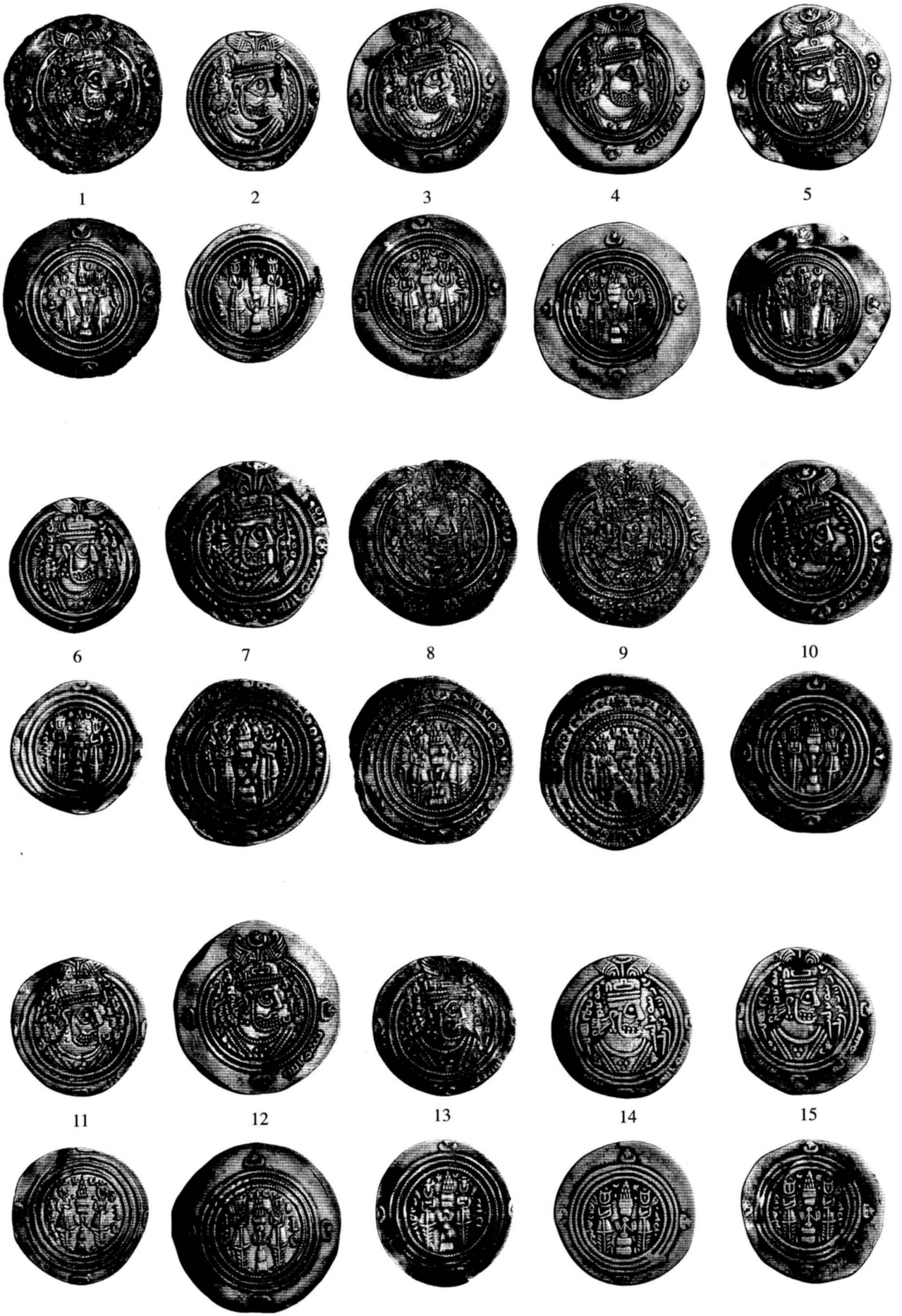
ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / YBWNY ZWBYR (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* / DWWYST / —. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date PNCŠST, one pellet before and one after mint. Margin plain.

AH 65

14 AR 3h 2.89g – Clipped [Shamma 7790].

15 AR 3h 2.84g – Clipped, graffiti in RvQ2; same dies [Shamma 7816].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Obv: E1, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y ZWBYRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / DWWYST / —. Outer pellets at right, bottom and left s/c. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date HFTŠST, one pellet before and two after mint. Margin plain.

AH 67

16 AR 3h 4.04g – [Shamma 7401].

17 AR 6h 3.79g – Lightly chipped, faint graffiti in RvQ4; same dies [Shamma 7402].

18 AR 2h 4.07g – Same reverse die; small pellet after ZWBYRAN on obverse [Shamma 7628].

ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWMR Y / AWBYTALAAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *lillāh al-ḥamd* (4 pellets) / (pellet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTŠST, pellet after mint. Margin plain. Left fillet on reverse sometimes omitted, as noted.

AH 68

19 AR 2h 2.93g – With fillet; clipped [Shamma 7586].

20 AR 2h 3.71g – Without fillet [Shamma 7587].

21 AR 3h 2.89g – Without fillet [Shamma 7602].

All three specimens from different dies.

As last, but date NAWŠST. Pellet and what is perhaps a partial crescent to left of bottom s/c.

AH 69

22 AR 3h 3.58g – With cmk #27 (without triplet) in ObQ4. Slightly clipped [Shamma 7685].

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name as last. Margin: — / (pellet) *lillāh al-ḥamd* (4 pellets) / (pellet & crescent) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LL, date NAWŠST, one pellet before and one after mint. Margin plain.

AH 69

23 AR 6h 3.19g – Clipped [Shamma 7676].

24 AR 9h 3.10g – Clipped; different dies [Shamma 7684].

Obv: As last. Rev: Star left, hands as noted, date HFTAT usually preceded by a pellet, one pellet before and one after mint. Margin plain.

AH 70

25 AR 3h 3.45g – Hands LL; no pellet before date; clipped [Shamma 7598].

26 AR 3h 2.76g – Hands EL; crescent left of flames omitted; clipped [Shamma 7680].

27 AR 3h 2.98g – Hands LR; clipped [Shamma 7691].

28 AR 4h 2.41g – Hands LL; heavily clipped and plugged [Shamma 7791].

29 AR 12h 3.92g – Hands LL; with cmk #14 in ObQ1. Large die break below right attendant's feet, extending into margin [purchase, Spink, ex Glendining, April 1955, Lot 731].

All five from different dies.

Ḥumrān b. Abān

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HWMRAN / Y ABANAN (pellet). Margin: — / *bism allāh* (4 pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands ER, date DWHFTAT, one pellet before and two after mint. Margin plain.

AH 72

30 AR 3h 3.14g – Clipped. As Walker Cam.13 but different dies [Shamma 7444].

16 17 18 19 20

21 22 23 24 25

26 27 28 29 30

As last, but *ḥumrān bin abān* (حمـرن بن ابان) in ObQ3, pellet added before *bism allāh* and hands RR.

AH 72

31 AR 5h 3.98g – Walker O.8 (different dies) [Shamma 7446].

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: KTRYY AMYR / Y WRWYŠNYKAN. Margin: — / *lā ḥukma illā lillāh* / — / —. Rev: Star right, hands LE, date PNCHFTAT, one pellet before and one after mint. Left fillet omitted. Margin plain.

AH 75

32 AR 9h 4.01g – [Shamma 7391].

As last, but star left, hands EE, one pellet before and two after mint.

AH 75

33 AR 9h 2.99g – Severely clipped; obverse partly doublestruck [Shamma 7392].

34 AR 9h 3.28g – Clipped; different dies [Shamma 7400].

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al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWHALP Y / ABWCWFRAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (4 pellets) / FRAWZAT / —. Rev: Star left, hands as noted, date ŠŠHFTAT, one pellet before and one after mint, no left fillet. Margin plain.

AH 76

35 AR 8h 3.84g – Hands EL [Shamma 7428].

36 AR 9h 3.30g – Hands RE, large die break between mint name and right attendant; clipped [Shamma 7709].

37* AR 3h 4.00g – Hands EL; large flan crack [Shamma 7772].

38 AR 9h 4.10g – Hands RL; much die damage in name FRAWZAT and in RvQ4 [Shamma 7774].

39 AR 5h 3.70g – Hands RR; much die damage in name FRAWZAT [Shamma 7812].

Die-links: Obverse: 38=39; reverse: 35=37.

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al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name in Arabic: *al-ḥajjāj bin / yūsuf* (يوسف / الحجاج بن). Margin: — / *bism allāh lā ilāh illā lillāh* (sic) / *waḥdahu muḥammad rasūl / alllāh* (sic). Rev: Star left, hands ER, date HFTHFTAT, one pellet before and one after mint; no left fillet. Margin: Pahlavi letter G at 0h30, written counterclockwise.

AH 77

40 AR 7h 4.02g – [Shamma 7431].

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name in Arabic: *al-ḥajjāj / bin yūsuf.* Margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RL, date HŠTAT, one pellet before and one after mint. Margin plain.

AH 80

41* AR 4h 3.90g – [purchase, H. Weber, 1970].

AW (Ahwāz?)

Khusraw type with lillāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *lillāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LL, date PNCSYY. Margin plain.

YE? 35

42 AR 4h 2.78g – Clipped [Shamma 7613].

AYFTAK
(uncertain locality in Khurāsān)

Salm b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, annulet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: SLM Y / ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHRŠST. Margin plain.

AH 64

43* AR 9h 3.98g – [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859, = Walker Ox.4].

AYRAN (Ḥulwān?)

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: YZAN (?) / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SH (sic). Margin probably plain, but largely clipped away.

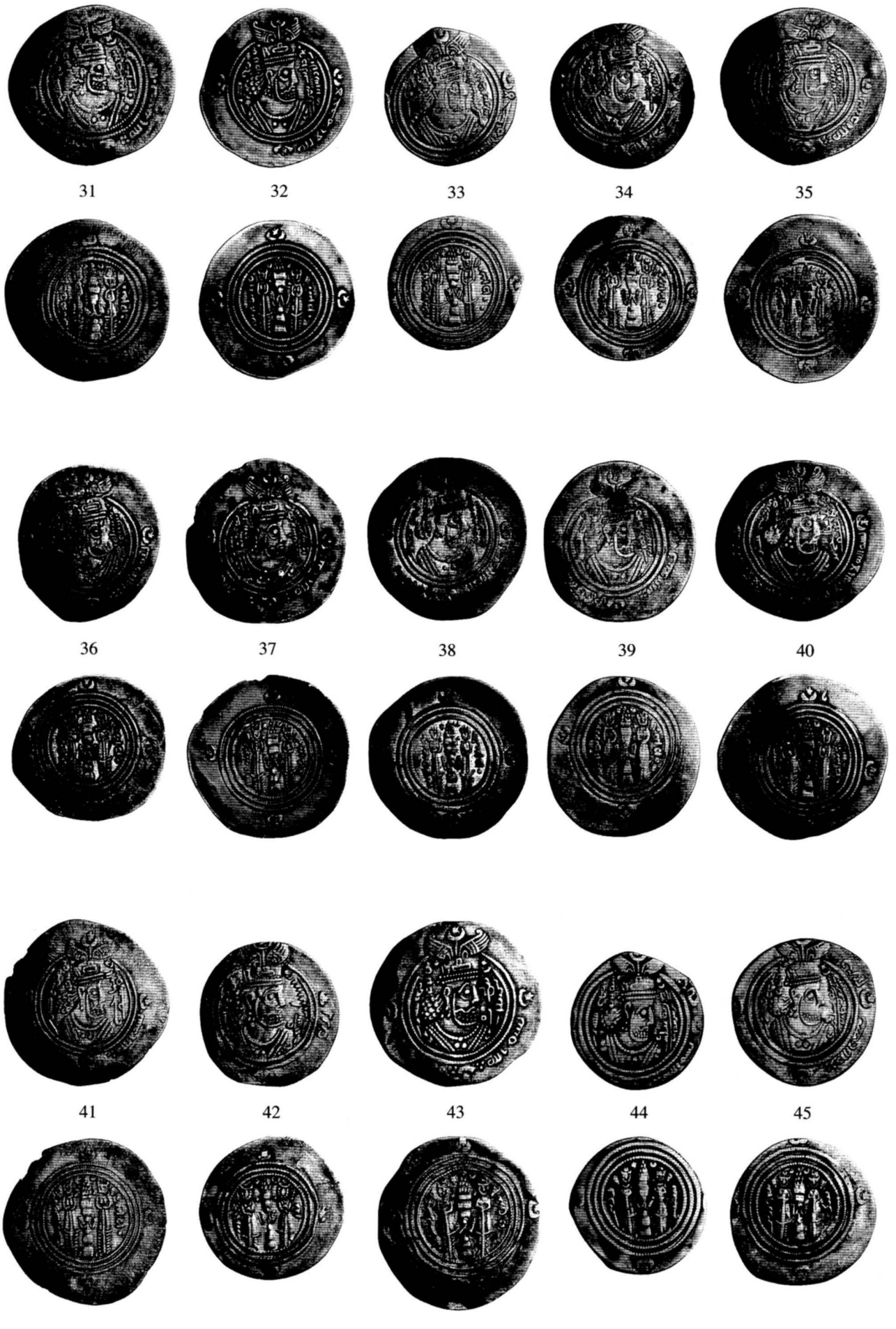
PYE 30 (began 11 Ramaḍān 61)

44 AR 3h 2.11g – Heavily clipped, ObQ3 and ObQ4 completely clipped away, presumably plain [Shamma 7818].

As last, but patronymic spelled ZYYATAN and date AYWKSH. The word YZAN, if that be the correct reading, is less stylized.

PYE 31 (began 22 Ramaḍān 62)

45* AR 3h 2.70g – Clipped [Shamma 7560].



31 32 33 34 35

36 37 38 39 40

41 42 43 44 45

BBA (the camp mint)

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B4, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (pelleted annulet) / (four pellets) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date DWŠST. Margin plain.

AH 62

46 AR 9h 3.28g – Clipped [Shamma 7609].

47 AR 12h 2.89g – Clipped [Shamma 7542].

48 AR 2h 3.44g – Clipped [bequest, A.W. Pullen, ex Album list 91, no. 151].

All different dies.

BCRA (Baṣra)

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠPNCAH. Margin plain.

AH 56

49 AR 4h 3.04g – Two pellets by nose (probably die damage); clipped [Shamma 7544].

50 AR 3h 2.60g – Clipped [Shamma 7511].

51 AR 2h 2.58g – Clipped [Shamma 7807].

All different dies.

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTPNCA, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 57

52 AR 3h 2.34g – Heavily clipped, holed [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTPNCA, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 58

53 AR 3h 2.95g – Clipped [Shamma 7547].

54 AR 3h 2.99g – Clipped, graffiti in RvQ1 [Shamma 7527].

55 AR 2h 2.75g – Clipped [purchase, M. Mukhtarzadeh, 1967].

All different dies.

As last, but patronymic ZYYATAN and obverse margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —.

AH 58

56 AR 12h 2.92g – Clipped [Shamma 7558].

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date NAWPNCA, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 59

57 AR 10h 2.11g – Clipped and broken [Shamma 7564].

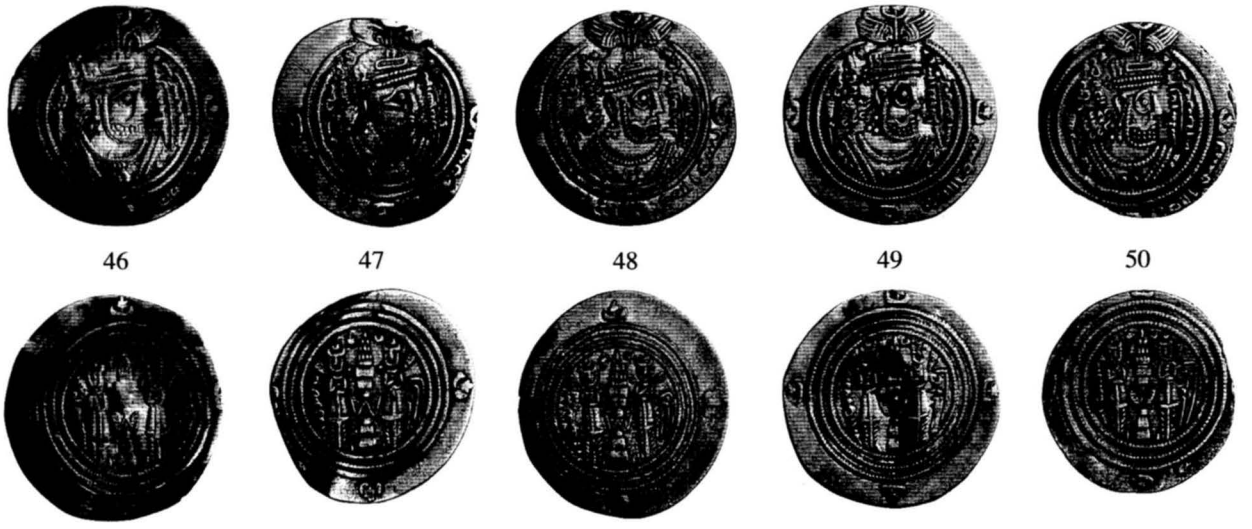
58 AR 9h 3.04g – Different dies; clipped [Shamma 7565].

As last, but dated ŠST. Crescent above shoulder sometimes omitted, as noted.

AH 60

59 AR 3h 2.07g – Clipped [Shamma 7635].

60 AR 9h 2.85g – Clipped [Shamma 7531].



46 47 48 49 50

51 52 53 54 55

56 57 58 59 60

61 AR 3h 2.67g – Clipped [Shamma 7543].

62 AR 3h 3.13g – Clipped [Shamma 7549].

63 AR 7h 3.99g – [Shamma 7563].

64 AR 3h 2.64g – No crescent; clipped [Shamma 7546].

65 AR 3h 3.74g – No crescent [Shamma 7566].
Die-links: Obverse: 64=65.

OBV: E2, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date šST, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 60

66 AR 9h 2.71g – Clipped [Shamma 7637].

67 AR 3h 2.54g – Clipped [Shamma 7545].

68 AR 9h 2.80g – Clipped [Shamma 7551].

69 AR 3h 2.50g – Clipped [Shamma 7552].

70 AR 3h 2.75g – Clipped [Shamma 7562].

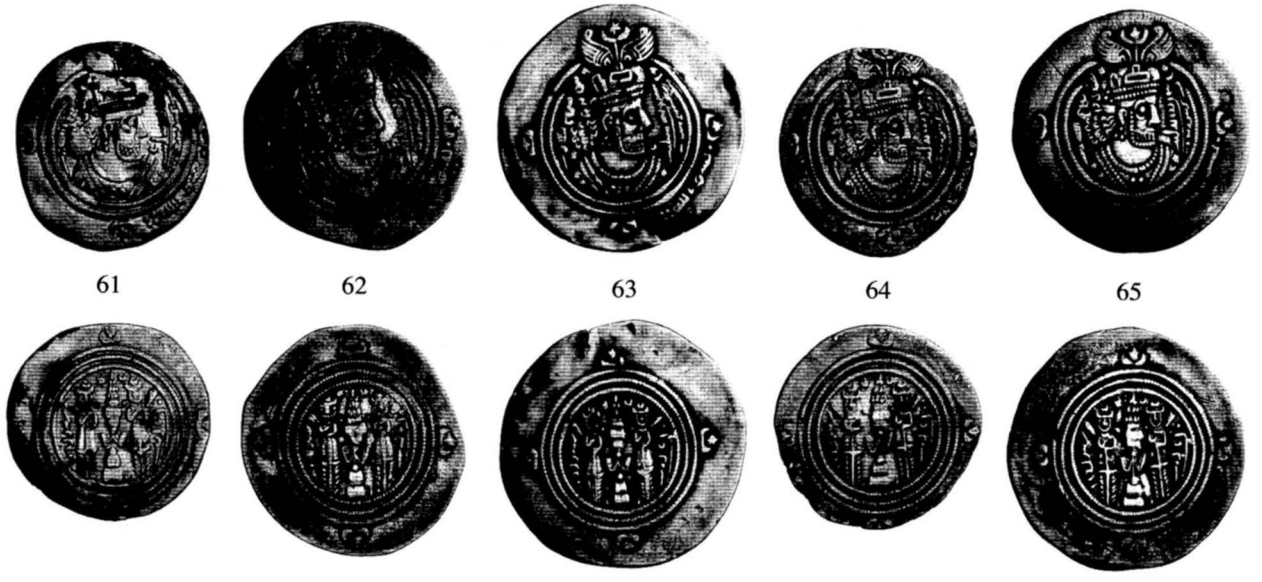
71 AR 3h 4.05g – [Shamma 7514].

72 AR 2h 4.07g – [Shamma 7570].

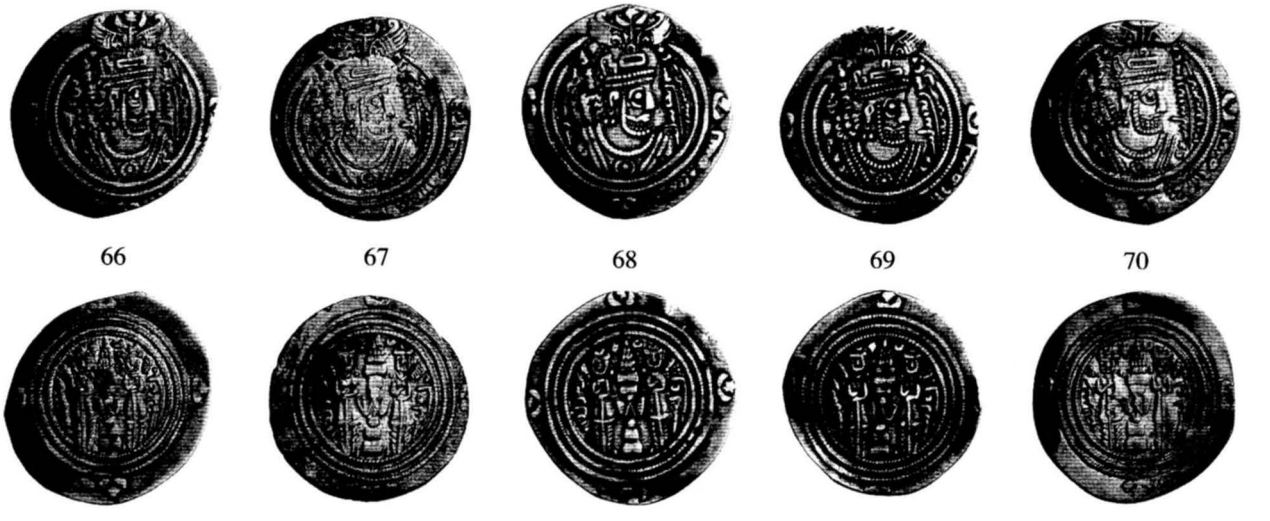
73 AR 3h 2.82g – Clipped [Shamma 7571].

74 AR 9h 3.51g – [Shamma 7720].

75 AR 9h 3.84g – die nick at 2h in obverse margin [bought at Tehran, 1952].
No die-links.



61 62 63 64 65



66 67 68 69 70

71 72 73 74 75

Obv: E0, no breast ornament, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date šst, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 60

76 AR 3h 3.61g – [Shamma 7569].

Obv: E1 (unless otherwise noted), B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date AYWKWŠST, pellet before mint, no left fillet (except as noted). Margin plain.

AH 61

77 AR 9h 2.82g – Clipped [Shamma 7555].

78 AR 3h 2.76g – Clipped [Shamma 7518].

79 AR 3h 2.51g – E2, with left fillet on reverse; clipped [Shamma 7526].

80 AR 3h 3.00g – Large die break in date; clipped [Shamma 7516].

81 AR 3h 2.84g – Clipped [Shamma 7575].

82 AR 3h 2.87g – Clipped [Shamma 7576].

83 AR 9h 3.73g – [Shamma 7740].

84 AR 9h 2.82g – Clipped [Shamma 7820].

85 AR 3h 2.63g – Clipped [Shamma 7821].

86 AR 9h 3.18g – E0, with left fillet on reverse; clipped [Shamma 7814].

No die-links.

Obv: E0 (unless otherwise stated), B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin as last. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date DWŠST, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

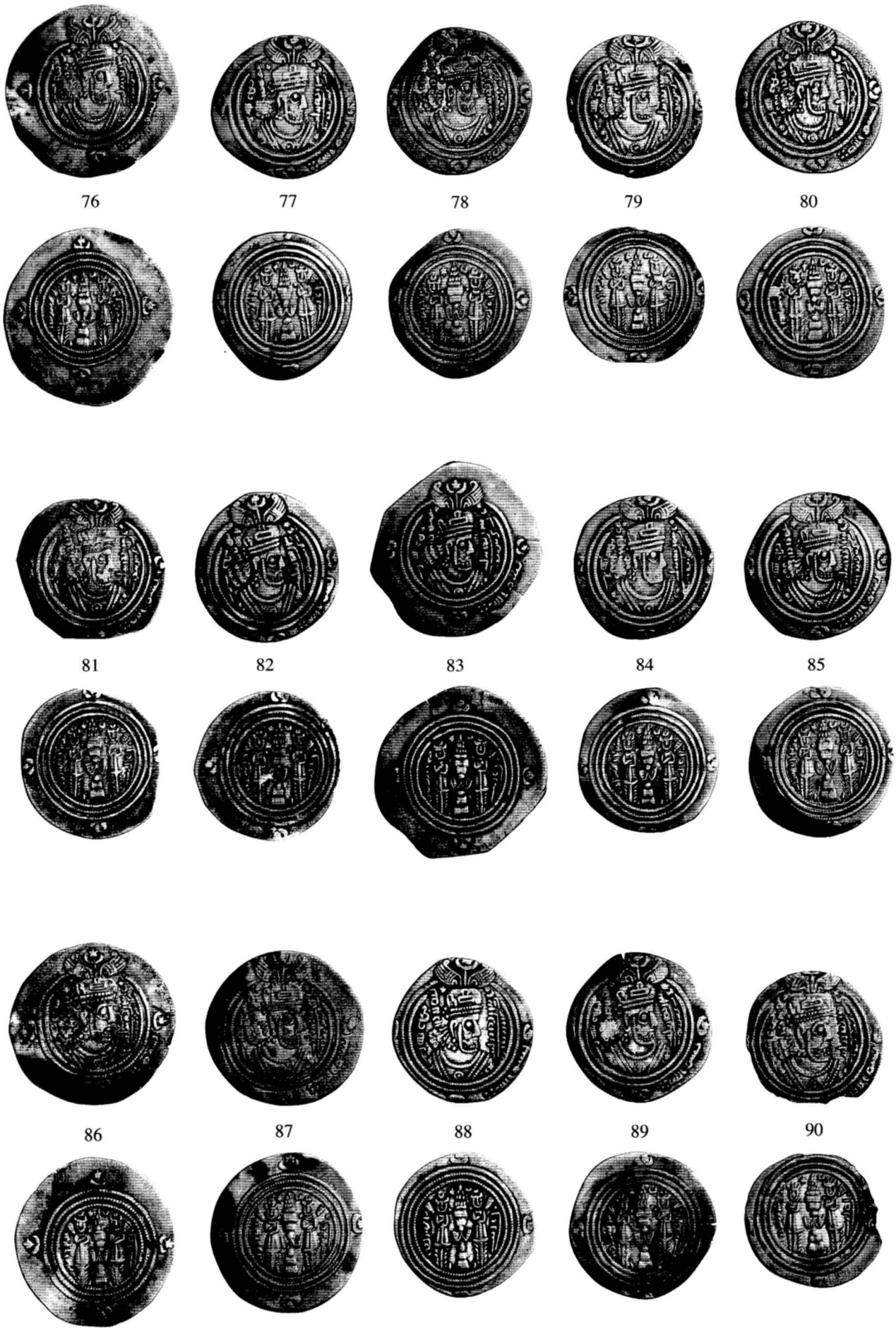
AH 62

87 AR 2h 3.02g – Clipped [Shamma 7622].

88 AR 9h 2.37g – Clipped [Shamma 7508].

89 AR 9h 2.82g – E1; clipped [Shamma 7512].

90 AR 3h 2.35g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7572].



76 77 78 79 80

81 82 83 84 85

86 87 88 89 90

91 AR 9h 2.87g – Clipped [Shamma 7574].

92 AR 3h 2.30g – E1; heavily clipped, most of margin gone [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

93 AR 2h 3.20g – Clipped [Shamma 7539].

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: As last.

AH 62

94* AR 3h 3.67g – [Shamma 7529].

Obv: E0, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet, unless noted otherwise) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYŠST, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 63

95* AR 9h 2.88g – First two teeth of SYŠST compacted; clipped [Shamma 7633].

96 AR 9h 2.87g – Clipped [Shamma 7553].

97 AR 3h 2.60g – Clipped [Shamma 7557].

98 AR 9h 2.64g – Four pellets instead of triplet after *bism allāh*; clipped [Shamma 7523].

99 AR 3h 2.75g – Clipped [Shamma 7577].

100 AR 12h 2.47g – Four pellets instead of triplet after *bism allāh*; clipped [Shamma 7573].

101 AR 2h 3.50g – Broken and falling apart [Shamma 7721].

102 AR 3h 2.46g – Clipped [Shamma 7722].

103 AR 3h 3.20g – Clipped [Shamma 7741].

104 AR 3h 2.85g – Clipped [Shamma 7813].

105 AR 9h 2.55g – Clipped [purchase, M. Mukhtarzadeh, 1967].

Die-links: Obverse: 96=103.

91 92 93 94 95

96 97 98 99 100

101 102 103 104 105

Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh

OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HALYD Y / APDWLAAN. Margin: — (pellet) / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / *muḥammad rasūl allāh* / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date PNCHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin: pellets flanking top s/c.

AH 75

106 AR 9h 4.02g – [Shamma 7450].

Bishr b. Marwān

OBV: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: BŠYR Y / MRWANAN. Margin: — DYN / *bism allāh muḥammad / rasūl allāh* / —. REV: *Orans* type, star left, hands RR, date PNCHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 75

107* AR 3h 4.22g – [Shamma 3, = Treadwell 1999, p.266, no. B7].

BN (unlocated, Kirmān province)

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd

OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDRMAN / Y ZYTAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / (pellet) —. REV: Star left, hands LR, date DWPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 52

108 AR 4h 3.09g – Clipped (gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859).

BŠ (unlocated)

Khusraw type with bism allāh

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent. Crown ornaments: none left, star above crescent right. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. REV: Star right, hands RR, date HFTYST (sic). Margin plain.

YE 27 (began 2 Muḥarram 38)

109* AR 9h 2.74g – Clipped [Shamma 7629].

BYŠ (Bīshāpūr)

Khusraw type with bism allāh.

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (pellet) / — / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date PNCYST (sic). Margin plain.

YE 25 (began 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 35)

110 AR 3h 3.22g – Clipped, pierced, flan crack. Reverse rather barbarous, so that star left of flames looks more like a blob [Shamma 7715].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir (b. Kurayz)

OBV: E0, B0, probably with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y AMWRAN (latter part somewhat obscured by ghosting). REV: Star left, hands R(R?), date SYH. Margin plain.

year 30 of unknown era

111* AR 3h 2.80g – Odd style; poorly struck and clipped [Shamma 7617].

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: Y AMWRAN / APDWLA (inverted order). Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. REV: Star left, hands LR, date CHARCYL (sic). Margin plain.

AH 44

112 AR 4h 2.29g – Clipped [Shamma 7693].

AS LAST, but name normal (APDWLA / Y AMWRAN), date CHARCHL.

AH 44

113 AR 9h 2.94g – Clipped [Shamma 7692].

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name and margin as last. REV: Star left, hands RR, date HFTCHL. Margin: two pellets at 11h.

AH 47

114 AR 3h 2.43g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7801].

Khusraw type with bism allāh al-mālik

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh / al-mālik* / — (بسم الله / الملك, without *alif* after *mīm* of *al-mālik*). REV: Star left, hands normally LR, date HFTCHL. Margin plain unless noted otherwise.

AH 47

115 AR 3h 3.10g – With two pellets at 11h30 on reverse; hands LL; clipped [Shamma 7462].

116 AR 3h 3.56g – Clipped [Shamma 7627].

117 AR 9h 2.74g – Hands LL, clipped [Shamma 7461].

118* AR 4h 3.17g – With two pellets at 11h30 on reverse; clipped [Shamma 7668].

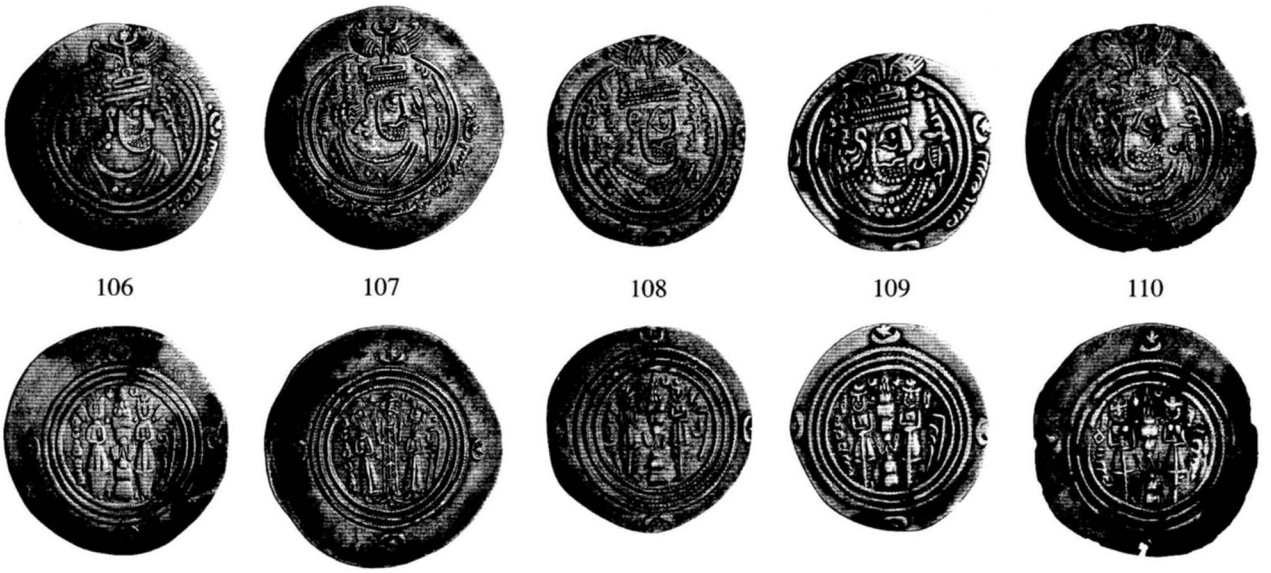
119 AR 3h 3.64g – Pellet before mint; date somewhat double-struck [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859]. No die-links.

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

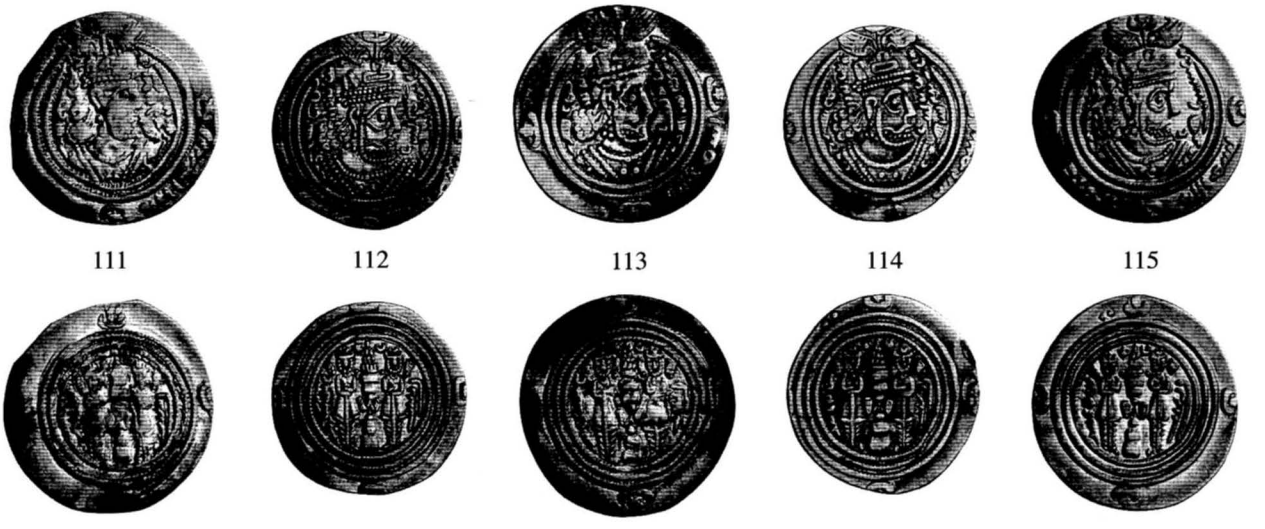
OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown, without fillet above right shoulder. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN, without *iḍāfa*. Margin: — / *bism allāh / rabbī* / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date HFTCH (sic). Margin plain.

AH 47

120 AR 3h 3.94g – [Shamma 7460].



106 107 108 109 110



111 112 113 114 115

116 117 118 119 120

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

OBV: E2, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date HFTCH (sic). Margin plain.

"AH 47"

121* AR 3h 2.61g – Clipped, graffiti in RvQ4 [Shamma 7536].

Khusraw type with bism allāh rabbī

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. REV: Star left, hands normally LR, date HŠTCHL. Margin plain.

AH 48

122 AR 3h 2.60g – Clipped [Shamma 7630].

123 AR 4h 3.68g – Slightly clipped [Shamma 7659].

124* AR 9h 2.91g – Hands RR. Date somewhat malformed, especially the T and the vestigial form of the L; die break through AW of AWSRWY; clipped. Possibly an imitation [Shamma 7673].

125 AR 9h 3.20g – Clipped and hornsilvered [Shamma 7714].

126 AR 3h 2.92g – Clipped [Shamma 7743].

127 AR 3h 4.07g – Cmk #14 in ObQ1 [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

No die-links.

AS LAST, but date NWACHL.

AH 49

128 AR 9h 3.87g – [Shamma 7605].

129 AR 9h 2.78g – Clipped [Shamma 7616].

130 AR 9h 2.92g – Clipped and worn [Shamma 7744].

131 AR 9h 2.64g – Hands probably RR; clipped and worn [Shamma 7803].

132 AR 12h 2.81g – Clipped [Shamma 7660].

No die-links.

AS LAST, but date PNCAH.

AH 50

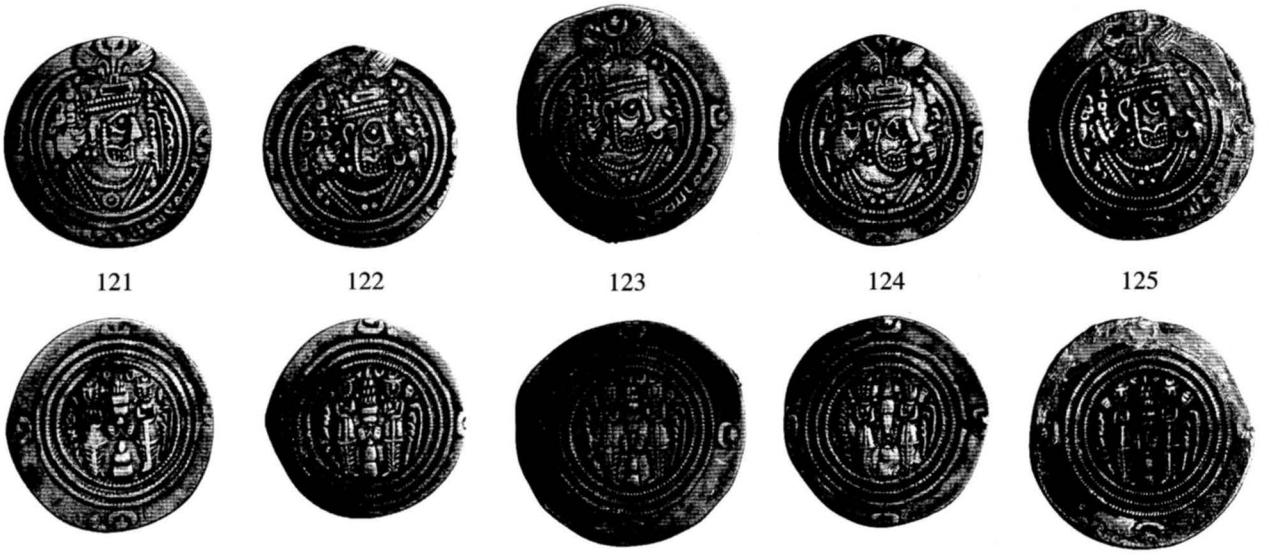
133 AR 9h 2.85g – Clipped [Shamma 7664].

134 AR 1h 2.54g – Different dies; clipped [Shamma 7716].

AS LAST, but hands RR and variable obverse margin, as noted for each specimen.

AH 50

135 AR 3h 3.17g – Obverse margin: — / *bism allāh* (pellet) / (pellet) *rabbī* / —. With outer pellet at bottom s/c of obverse [Shamma 7603].



121 122 123 124 125

126 127 128 129 130

131 132 133 134 135

136 AR 9h 2.65g – Similar, but no pellets in outer margin and reverse very blundered; clipped [Shamma 7638].

137 AR 4h 3.94g – Obverse margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (pellet) / *rabbī* (pellet) / — [Shamma 7604].

138 AR 3h 2.87g – Obverse margin: probably — / *bism allāh / rabbī* / —, but *rabbī* unclear; appears to be a barbarous imitation; clipped, worn and scraped. Date blundered [Shamma 7658].

139 AR 9h 4.07g – Obverse margin: — / *bism allāh* / (stemmed trefoil) / — [Shamma 7663].
No die-links.

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh / rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date AYWPNCA. Margin probably plain.

AH 51

140 AR 3h 2.17g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7670].

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, fillet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh / rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date DWPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 52

141* AR 3h 2.28g – Clipped [Shamma 7466].

142 AR 3h 2.99g – Different dies; clipped [Shamma 7468].

Obv: E0, B0, fillet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN (without *iḍāfa*), unless noted otherwise. Margin: — / *bism allāh / rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands normally LR, date SPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 53

143* AR 3h 2.53g – Clipped [Shamma 7472].

144 AR 6h 2.63g – Name ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN; clipped [Shamma 7473].

145 AR 3h 2.75g – Clipped [Shamma 7474].

146 AR 9h 2.91g – Hands RR, name ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN, illegible cmk in ObQ1; clipped [purchase, Sobin Galleries, 1960].

147 AR 3h 2.97g – Name ZYYAT Y / ABWSWPAN; no fillet or crescent above shoulder; clipped [Shamma 7471].
No die-links.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / *rabbī* / — or as noted. Rev: Star left, hands as noted, date SPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 53

148 AR 9h 3.56g – Hands RR; slightly clipped [Shamma 7556].

149 AR 3h 2.81g – Hands LL and without *rabbī* in ObQ3; different dies; clipped [Shamma 7579].

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

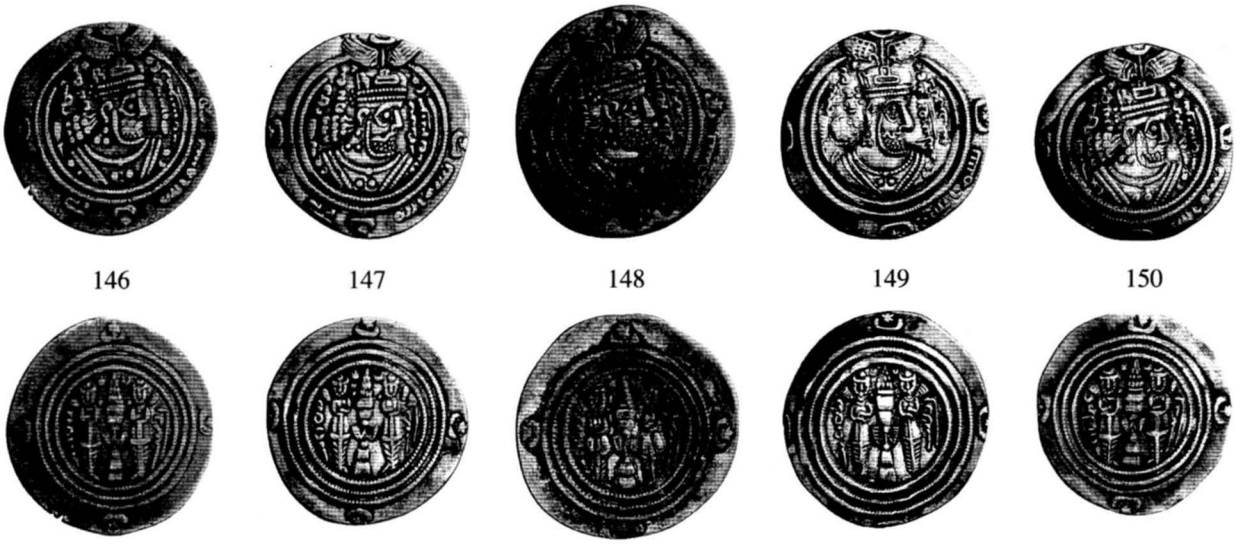
Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT Y / ABWSWPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh / rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHRPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 54

150 AR 9h 2.55g – Clipped [Shamma 7475].

136 137 138 139 140

141 142 143 144 145



146 147 148 149 150

ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDLMLYK Y / APDWLAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / *muḥammad rasūl / allāh*. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠŠST, pellet before mint. Margin plain or as noted.

AH 66

151 AR 9h 2.90g – Pellet at 7h30 reverse; clipped [Shamma 7494].

152 AR 9h 4.13g – As last [Shamma 7496].

153 AR 9h 2.52g – Plain; clipped [Shamma 7495].

154 AR 3h 2.93g – Plain; clipped [Shamma 7497].
Die-links: Reverse: 151=152.

Similar, but date HFTŠST.

AH 67

155 AR 3h 2.56g – Clipped [Shamma 7493].

ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWMR Y / AWBYTALAAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *lillāh al-ḥamd* (four pellets) / (pellet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST, pellet before mint, pellets flanking altar base. Margin plain.

AH 67

156* AR 3h 4.09g – T of ŠST vestigial [Shamma 7584].

157 AR 3h 4.11g – Normal date [Shamma 7589].

158 AR 8h 3.77g – Normal date [Shamma 7677].
No die-links.

As last, but date HŠTŠST and star left or right, as noted.

AH 68

159 AR 3h 3.28g – Star left; clipped and worn [Shamma 7583].

160 AR 9h 4.06g – Star left [Shamma 7593].

161 AR 9h 4.26g – Star left, hands QR [Shamma 7594].

162 AR 3h 3.83g – Star left, hands EE [Shamma 7675].

163 AR 4h 3.67g – Star right; lightly chipped around edges [Shamma 7679].

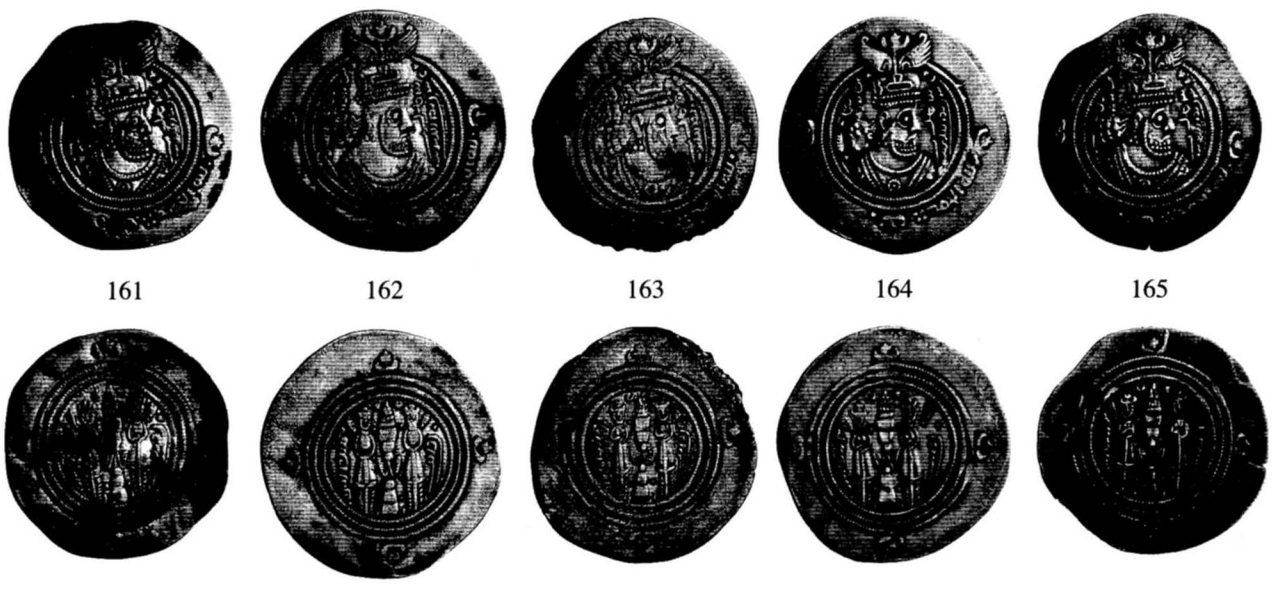
164 AR 9h 4.09g – Star right [Shamma 7690].

165 AR 2h 4.00g – Star right [Shamma 7730].

151 152 153 154 155

156 157 158 159 160

161 162 163 164 165



166 AR 4h 3.70g – Star right [Shamma 7731].

167 AR 9h 4.08g – Star right; large die break following الحمد [Shamma 7732].

168 AR 3h 3.72g – Star right [Shamma 7733].

169 AR 3h 3.82g – Star right [Shamma 7734].

170 AR 3h 4.19g – Star right [Shamma 7735].

Die-links: Obverse: 160=164=167=168; 165=166. Reverse: 163=165=166.

Obv: As last, but pellet at 2h30 obverse and pellet above shoulder. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date NWAŠST, pellet before mint. Margin plain. No pellets by altar base.

AH 69

171 AR 9h 2.88g – Clipped [Shamma 7588].

172 AR 8h 2.88g – Clipped; reverse encrusted [Shamma 7597].

173 AR 3h 2.82g – Clipped, some corrosion near edge [Shamma 7686].

No die-links.

Obv: As last, but obverse margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left (except as noted), hands as noted, date HFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 70

174 AR 6h 3.74g – Star right; hands ER; slightly clipped [Shamma 7585].

175 AR 9h 2.82g – Hands RR; clipped [Shamma 7590].

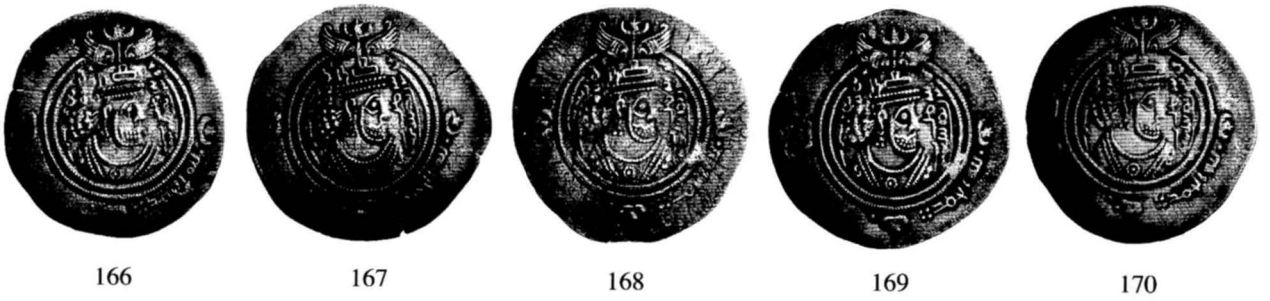
176 AR 9h 4.02g – Hands EE [Shamma 7591].

177 AR 10h 3.86g – Hands probably EE; big flan crack and very worn [Shamma 7592].

178 AR 3h 3.86g – Hands EE [Shamma 7595].

179 AR 9h 3.08g – Hands RR; clipped [Shamma 7600].

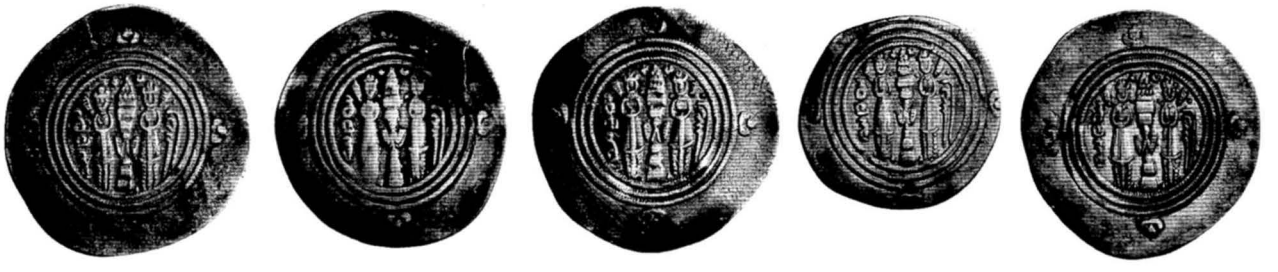
180 AR 3h 4.01g – Hands EE [Shamma 7678].



166 167 168 169 170

171 172 173 174 175

176 177 178 179 180



181 AR 4h 4.01g – Hands RR [Shamma 7687].

182 AR 2h 3.97g – Hands RR; die damage at left and right s/c on obverse [Shamma 7688].

183 AR 3h 3.38g – Hands RR; earring and crescent left of crown worn away; cmk'd no. 14 and twice no. 27; worn, small chip missing [Shamma 7689].

184 AR 3h 3.85g – Hands RR [Shamma 7724].

185 AR 3h 3.90g – Hands RR; clipped [Shamma 7725].

186 AR 3h 3.19g – Hands RR; clipped [Shamma 7726].

187 AR 3h 3.99g – Hands RE; mushy strike on obverse [Shamma 7727].

188 AR 3h 4.03g – Hands RR; die break extends from bottom of altar into RvQ3 [Shamma 7728].

189 AR 3h 3.33g – Hands RR, earring obscure; worn [purchase, M. Mukhtarzadeh, 1967].

Die-links: Obverse: 175=184=187; 176=178.
Reverse: 175=179.

Muqātil b. Misma^{c}

Obv: E0 (or E1?), B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWKATL / Y MSMAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / *bakriya* (triplet) / —. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date consists of Pahlavi numeral '3' followed by HFTAT for 70, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 73

190 AR 9h 2.54g – Clipped and worn [Shamma 7631].

Khālid b. ^{c}Abd Allāh

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HALYD Y / APDWLAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / *muḥammad rasūl allāh* / —. Outer pellet at top s/c. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date consists of Pahlavi numeral '3' followed by HFTAT for 70, pellet before mint. Margin: pellet at 7h30 and outer pellet at top s/c.

AH 73

191 AR 3h 3.96g – [Shamma 7449].

As LAST, but on obverse appears a large pellet to the lower left of hairball, and on reverse, outer pellet probably at top s/c, but not clear on this specimen. Date CHRHFTAT.

AH 74

192 AR 3h 4.01g – [Shamma 7702].

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a

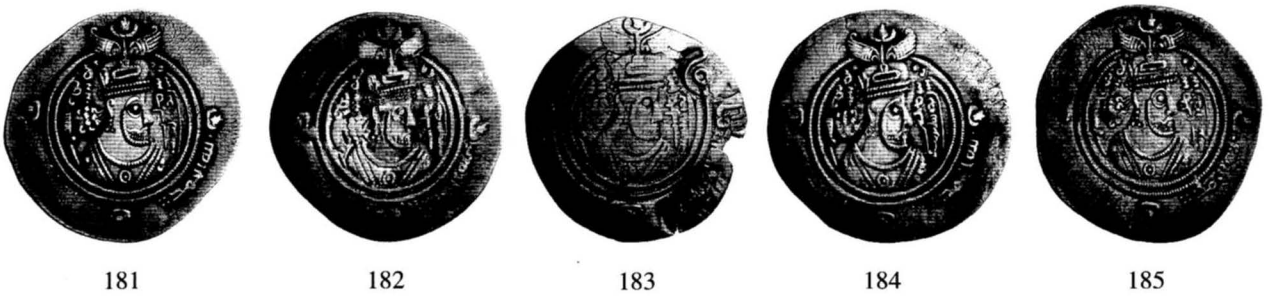
Obv: E1 (or as noted), B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA KTRYY / AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN. Margin: — / *lā ḥukm illā lillāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date PNCHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 75

193 AR 3h 2.62g – Probably E0; clipped [Shamma 7393].

194 AR 12h 3.97g – [Shamma 7394].

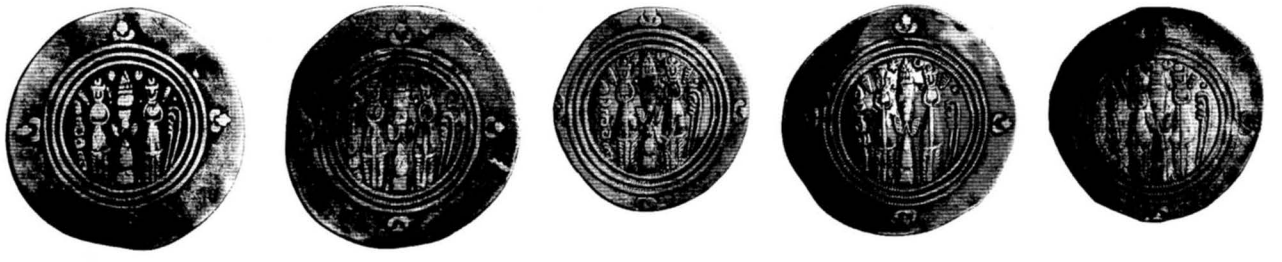
195 AR 9h 3.28g – Clipped [Shamma 7395].



181 182 183 184 185

186 187 188 189 190

191 192 193 194 195



196 AR 12h 3.77g – Clipped [Shamma 7397].

197 AR 12h 3.09g – Clipped [Shamma 7749].

198 AR 4h 3.74g – E0; clipped [purchase, Baldwin's, 1987].
Die-link: Obverse: 194=196.

al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWHALP Y / ABWCWFRAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / MW—/—. Rev: Star left, hands normally EE, date PNCHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 75

199* AR 9h 3.73g – Hands EL [Shamma 7696].

200 AR 3h 3.87g – [Shamma 7710].

201 AR 3h 3.88g – [Shamma 7706].

202 AR 2h 3.84g – Hands EL [Shamma 7771].

203 AR 5h 3.74g – [Shamma 7775].

204 AR 10h 3.62g – Slightly clipped [Shamma 7776].

205 AR 3h 2.55g – Clipped. Large die break on reverse at 10h30 [Shamma 7777].

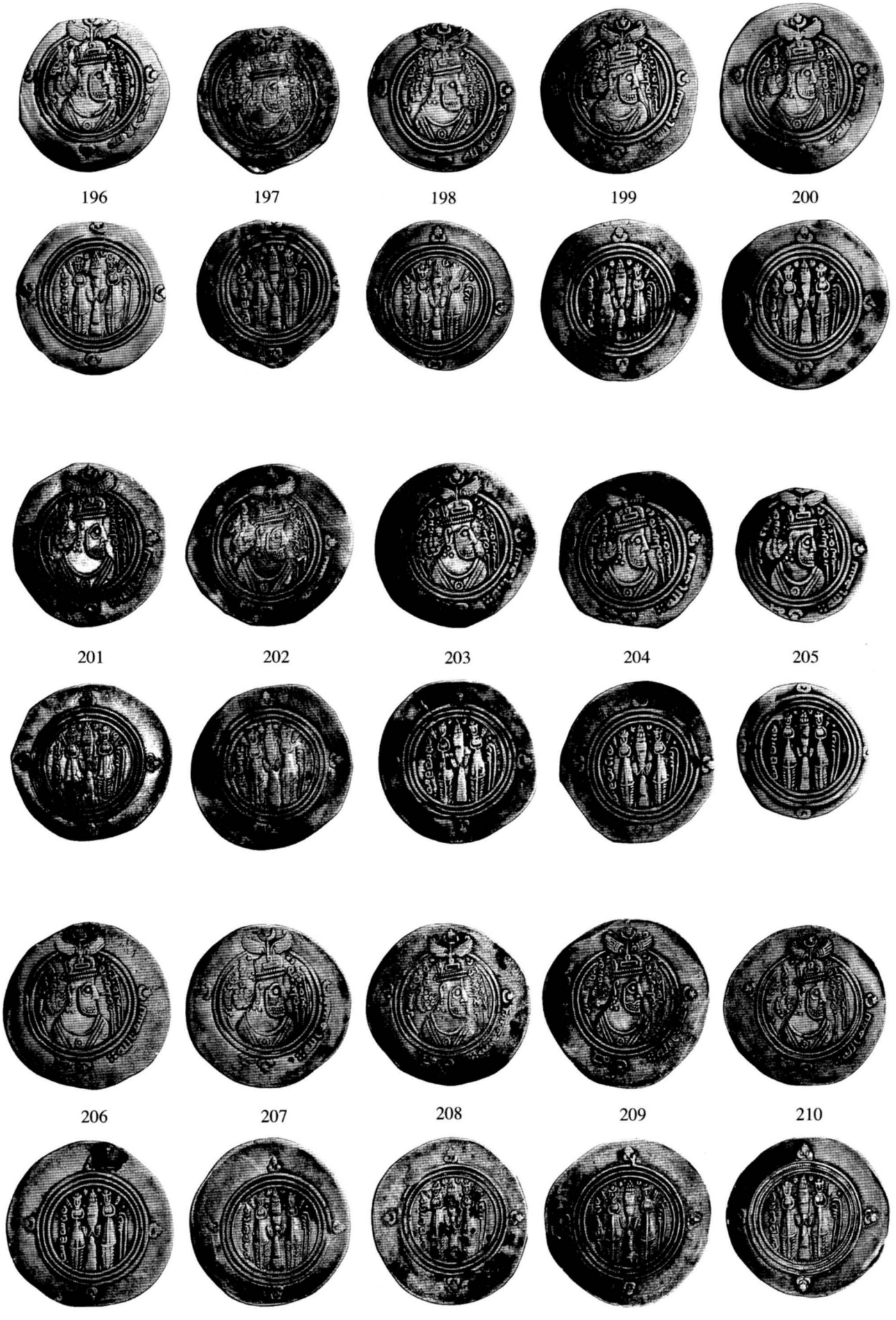
206 AR 11h 3.85g – Loop removed [Shamma 7781].

207 AR 9h 3.64g – [Shamma 7792].

208 AR 3h 3.96g – Same die break as on no.205 [Shamma 7811].

209 AR 9h 3.97g – [Keble College].

210 AR 6h 4.07g – [purchase, M.H. Williams, 1955].
Die-links: Obverse: 205=208. Reverse: 200=201; 205=208.



196 197 198 199 200

201 202 203 204 205

206 207 208 209 210

As LAST, but date ŠHFTAT.

AH 76

211 AR 3h 3.71g – Reverse encrusted [Shamma 7704].

212 AR 3h 3.90g – [Shamma 7705].

213 AR 9h 3.61g – [Shamma 7708].

214 AR 9h 3.75g – [Shamma 7773].
No die-links.

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al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf

OBV: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name in Arabic *al-ḥajjāj bin yūsuf* (الحجاج بن / يوسف). Margin, radial type: *bism / allāh // lā i- / lāh i- / llā a- // lāh wa- / ḥdahu / muḥammad // rasū- / l a- / llāh.* Outer pellets at all four s/c; outer circle around. REV: Star left, hands EE, date ŠYHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain but with fourth outer circle.

AH 76

215 AR 3h 4.10g – Large die break in reverse margin at 8h30 [Shamma 7810].

As LAST, but date HFTHFTAT and sometimes with pellets at 1h and 11h in obverse margin.

AH 77

216 AR 8h 3.95g – With pellets [Shamma 7798].

217 AR 10h 3.65g – Without pellets; different dies [purchase, H. Weber, 1970].

OBV: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name in Arabic, *al-hajjāj bin / yūsuf.* Margin: — / *bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh / waḥdahu muḥammad rasūl / allāh* —. REV: Star left, hands normally EE, date HFTHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 77

218 AR 2h 3.82g – Hands EL; ObQ2 ends in *illā lillāh* (sic), i.e., *alif* of *allāh* omitted [Shamma 7430].

219 AR 2h 4.07g – Different dies [Shamma 7796].

As LAST, but date HŠTHFTAT (or as given) and pellet below hairball.

AH 78

220 AR 9h 4.03g – Date HŠTHFTA without final T [Shamma 7434].

221 AR 11h 3.84g – Normal date; different dies [Shamma 7797].

As LAST, but date NAWHFTAT. On some specimens, the second *allāh* (after *illā*) is spelled defectively, without initial *alif*, as on no.218.

AH 79

222 AR 3h 3.99g – *Alif* of second *allāh* omitted [Shamma 7429].

223 AR 2h 4.05g – Same defective spelling; pelleted annulet instead of simple pellet below hairball [Shamma 7437].

224 AR 9h 3.64g – Normal spelling of second *allāh*; slightly clipped and worn, especially in the earring [Shamma 7442].
All different dies.

OBV: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HAGAG Y / YUSPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / FRAWZAT / —. outer pellets at all four s/c. REV: Star left, hands EE, date NAWHFTAT. Margin: Single pellets flank left s/c, no outer pellets.

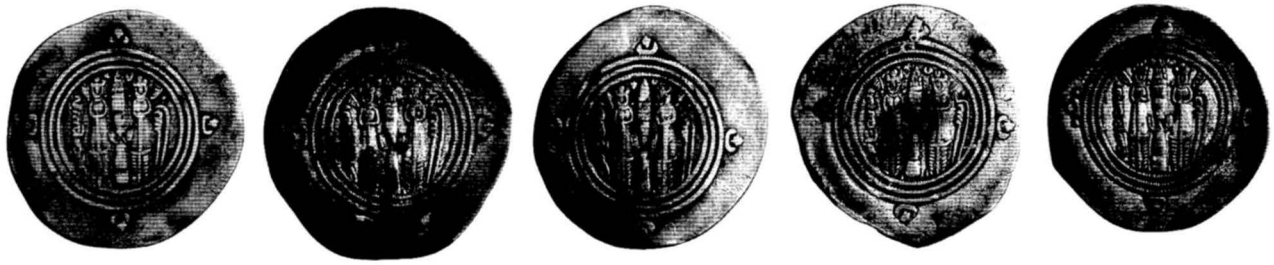
AH 79

225 AR 9h 3.85g – [Shamma 7436].

211 212 213 214 215

216 217 218 219 220

221 222 223 224 225



Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name in Arabic: *al-ḥajjāj / bin yūsuf*, sometimes with a pellet below the *sīn* of *yūsuf*. Margin: — / *lillāh al-ḥamd* (two pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands as noted, date HYŠTAT. Margin: pellet at 7h.

AH 80

226* AR 2h 3.68g – Hands LL; slightly clipped [Shamma 7438].

227 AR 9h 3.99g – With pellet below *sīn*; hands EL [Shamma 7441].

228 AR 2h 3.45g – Hands EE; probably clipped [Shamma 7809].

All different dies.

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name *al-ḥajjāj bin / yūsuf*. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / HAGAG (4 pellets) / —. Rev: Star left, hands RE, date AWYHŠTAT, pellet before mint. Margin: "GM" monogram at 10h30.

AH 81

229* AR 2h 4.00g – Obverse encrusted [Shamma 7439].

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDARMAN / Y MAMTAN. Margin: — / *hadāhu allāh wa naṣarahu* / — / — (هداه الله ونصره). Rev: Star left, hands EE, date DWHYŠTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 82

230 AR 3h 3.73g – Light adhesions on reverse [Shamma 7483].

DA (Dārābjird)

Khusraw type with lillāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *lillāh* w / — / — (note Pahlavi w after *lillāh*). Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCWYST. Margin plain.

YE? 25

231* AR 3h 3.87g – [Shamma 7614].

Obv: E0, B10 (two pellets vertically), no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRY (sic). Margin: — / *lillāh* (triplet) / (pellet) — / —, sometimes with a triplet instead of a pellet in ObQ3. Rev: Star left, hands usually RR, date SYY. Margin plain.

YE? 30

232 AR 3h 2.64g – Clipped [Shamma 7608].

233 AR 3h 2.38g – Hands LL; clipped [Shamma 7611].

234 AR 3h 3.74g – Triplet in ObQ3 [Shamma 7618].

235 AR 3h 2.78g – Triplet in ObQ3; clipped [Shamma 7632].

No die-links.

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, probably standard crown but area above AWSRWY obscured by weak strike. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *lillāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left (but crescent appears more like a blob than a proper crescent), hands RR, date PNCSY. Margin plain.

YE? 35

236 AR 4h 2.73g – Clipped [Shamma 7612].

ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. No outer pellets. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYCHL. Margin plain.

AH 43

237 AR 12h 3.50g – [Shamma 7491].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir (b. Kurayz)

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y AMWRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. Outer pellets, if any, cut away. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYCHL. Margin plain.

frozen year 43 (circa AH 44-47)

238 AR 3h 2.88g – Clipped [Shamma 7490].

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: Normally E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT Y / ABWSPYYAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. With outer pellets at left, bottom and right s/c. Rev: Star left or right, hands RR, date SYCHL. Margin plain.

Note: This arrangement of the obverse margin is indicated henceforth as "Standard Dārābjird margin".

frozen year 43 (circa AH 50-53)

239 AR 3h 2.86g – Star left; clipped [Shamma 7455].

240 AR 3h 3.74g – Star right, E3 and small pellet inside crescent above shoulder; slightly clipped [Shamma 7457].

226 227 228 229 230

231 232 233 234 235

236 237 238 239 240

241 AR 3h 3.93g – Star right, die flaw above mint [Shamma 7458].

242 AR 3h 4.09g – Star left, die flaw above mint [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

No die-links.

OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date SYH. Margin plain.

"year 30"

243* AR 3h 3.07g – Clipped [Shamma 7454].

Samura b. Jundab

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: SMRA Y / GWNDAPAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star right, hands RR, date SYCHL. Plain margin.

frozen year 43 (circa AH 53-54)

244 AR 3h 3.29g – Slightly clipped [Shamma 7481].

Muᶜāwiya

OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, no ornaments alongside crown. Name: MYYAWYA AMYR / WYRWYŠNYKAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star right, hands RR, date SYCHL. Margin plain.

frozen year 43 (circa AH 54-55)

245* AR 3h 4.15g – [Shamma 7387].

246 AR 3h 4.14g – Different dies [bequest, A.W. Pullan, ex Album, list 64, no. 51].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYDWLA / Y ZYYAT (sic). Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star right, hands RR, date PNCHL. Margin: "GM" monogram at 0h30.

YE 45 (began 17 Rajab 56)

247 AR 3h 3.92g – Same dies as Walker 90 [Shamma 7783].

OBV: As last. REV: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠCHL. Margin plain.

YE 46 (began 27 Rajab 57)

248 AR 4h 2.39g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7528].

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYDWLA Y / ZYYATAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTCHL. Margin plain. With syllable šw or šN to left and right of altar base.

YE 48 (began 19 Shaᶜbān 59)

249* AR 4h 2.84g – Clipped [Shamma 7520].

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, left crown ornament omitted, normal right ornament. Name AWBYDWLA / Y ZYYATAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star right, hands RR, date HŠTCHL. Margin plain.

YE 48 (began 19 Shaᶜbān 59)

250 AR 3h 3.86g – [Shamma 7517].

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTLA (sic) / Y ZYYATAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star left, hands RR, date NWCHL. Margin plain. With syllable šw or šN to left and right of altar base.

YE 49 (began 29 Shaᶜbān 60)

251 AR 3h 4.07g – Large die break in ObQ4, extending into crown [Shamma 7532].

OBV: E0, B1, with crescent, right crown ornament omitted. Name: AWBYDWLAH (sic) / Y ZYYATAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star right, hands RR, date PNCAH. Margin: "GM" monogram at 11h.

YE 50 (began 11 Ramaḍān 61)

252 AR 6h 3.23g – Considerable die damage at 5h30 on reverse; clipped [Shamma 7541].

OBV: E5 (details as B1), B1, with crescent, standard crown ornaments but very tiny. Name: AWBYDWLA / Y ZYYATAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Star right, hands RR, date AYWPNCAH. Margin: "GM" monogram at 11h30.

YE 51 (began 22 Ramaḍān 62)

253 AR 3h 3.58g – Date double-struck but certain; slightly clipped [Shamma 7515].

AS LAST, but E0.

YE 51 (began 22 Ramaḍān 62)

254 AR 3h 2.88g – Clipped [Shamma 7540].

255 AR 3h 4.00g – Rear turret of crown omitted; date AYWKPNCA; large die break across altar base and extending upwards toward the right; different dies [Shamma 7519].

241 242 243 244 245

246 247 248 249 250

251 252 253 254 255

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent. Crown ornament: star left and star right. Name: APDWLA AMYR / WYRWYŠNYKAN (*iḍāfa* omitted). Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date SYPNCAH. Margin: barely visible pellet at 2h30.

YE 53 (began 13 Shawwāl 64)

256 AR 3h 3.66g – Slightly clipped [Shamma 7636].

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, no crown ornament. Name as last. Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date ŠPNCA, crudely written. Margin: pellet at 0h30.

YE 56 (began 16 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 67)

257* AR 12h 3.78g – [Shamma 7413].

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name as last. Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date HFPNCAH. Margin: "GM" monogram at 11h30.

YE 57 (began 26 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 68)

258 AR 2h 4.08g – Mount traces at two places near the rim [Shamma 7414].

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, crown ornament as noted. Name as last. Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star as noted, hands RR, date NAWPNCA. Margin: pellet as noted.

YE 59 (began 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 70)

259 AR 3h 3.85g – Crown ornament: star left and star right; on reverse, star left, pellet at 11h30; slightly clipped [Shamma 7415].

260 AR 3h 4.13g – Crown ornament: star left, blank right; on reverse, star right, pellet at 0h30 [Shamma 7416].

261 AR 9h 3.79g – Standard crown on obverse; on reverse, star left, pellet at 11h30; slightly clipped [Shamma 7417].

No die-links.

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al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWHALP Y / ABWCWFRAAN. Margin: as standard Dārābjird margin, but with MW monogram in ObQ3. Rev: Star left, hands as noted, date as noted. Margin plain.

AH 76

262 AR 9h 3.71g – Date ŠYHFTAT (sic); hands RR [Shamma 7703].

263 AR 9h 3.98g – Date ŠŠHFTAT; hands EL; different dies [Shamma 7707].

DA + G (Jahrum)

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA AMYR / WYRWYŠNYKAN (without *iḍāfa*). Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHPNCA. Mint letter G to right of altar base. Margin plain.

YE 54 (began 24 Shawwāl 65)

264 AR 2h 4.08g – [Shamma 7412].

DA + GARWM (Jahrum)

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA KTRYY / AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN. Margin: — / *lā ḥukm illā lillāh* / — / —. Pellet to lower left of hairball. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCHFTAT. Mint consists of DA below and GARWM above, all to right of right attendant. Margin plain. Left fillet omitted.

AH 75

265 AR 3h 4.05g – Large diebreak through earring [Shamma 7396].

266 AR 3h 3.96g – WRWYŠNAN (sic); different dies [Shamma 7398].

DAP or DA + P (Fasā)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E4, B0, with crescent. Crown ornament: star below pellet left, usual star and crescent right. Additional pellet before GDH. Name: ZYYAT Y / ABWSPYYAN (sic). Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date SYCHL. Mint DAP. Margin: pellet at 8h30.

frozen year 43 (circa AH 50-53)

267 AR 3h 3.01g – Clipped [Shamma 7456].

Obv: E0, B0, small pellet inside crescent above shoulder, standard crown. Name as last. Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYCHL. Mint DAP. Margin: pellet at 0h30.

frozen year 43 (circa AH 50-53)

268 AR 3h 3.91g – [Shamma 7459].

Muᶜāwiya

Obv: E4, B0, no crescent, no crown ornament. Name: MYYAWYA AMYR / WYRWYŠNYKAN (no *iḍāfa*). Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date SYCHL. Mint DAP. Margin: "GM" monogram at 0h30.

frozen year 43 (circa AH 54-55).

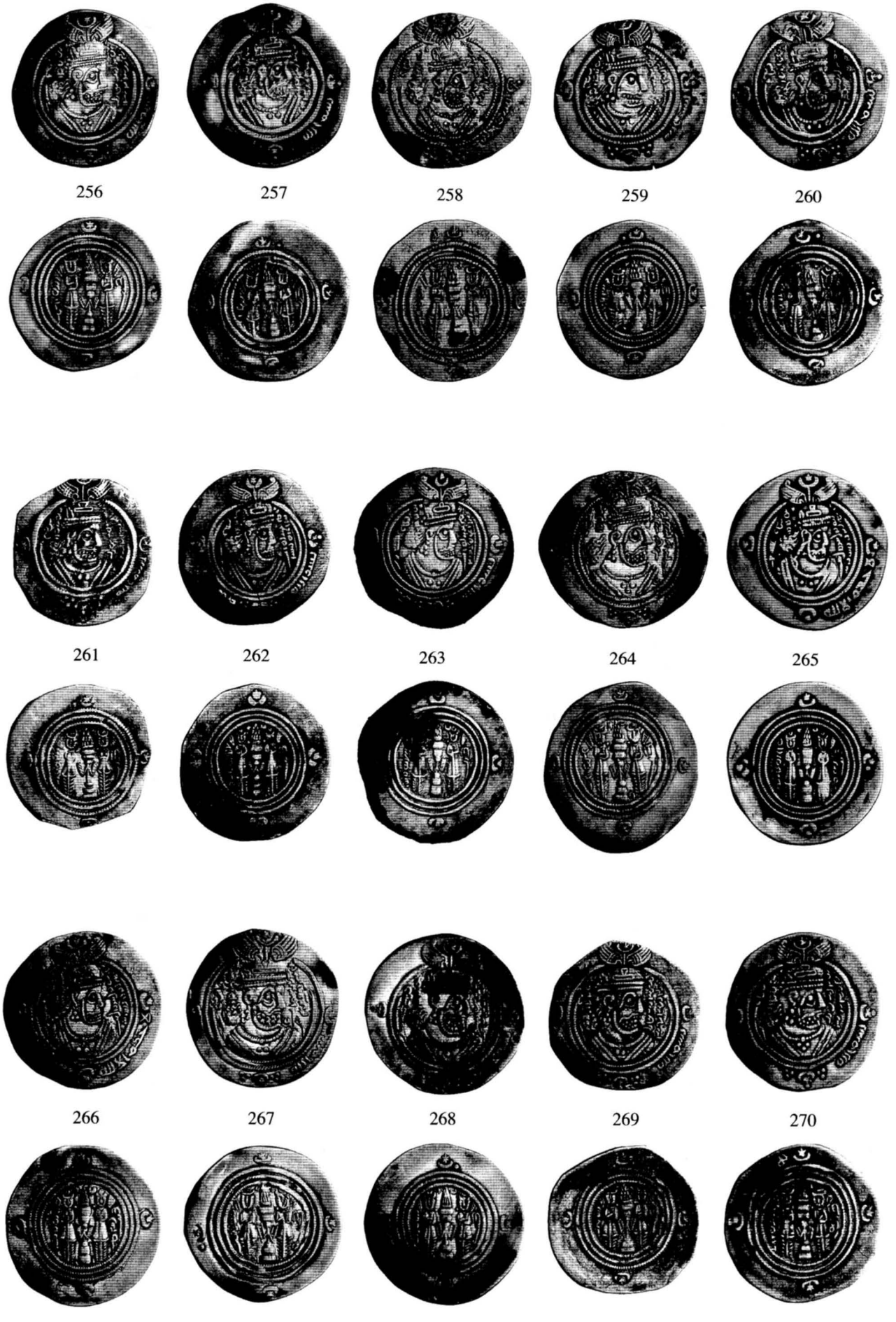
269 AR 12h 3.67g – [Shamma 7389].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent. Crown ornament: star left and star right. Name: APDWLA AMYR / WYRWYŠNYKAN. Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date CHRPNCA. Mint: P above DA in usual location. Margin: "GM" monogram at 11h30.

YE 54 (began 24 Shawwāl 65)

270 AR 3h 3.86g – Same reverse die as Walker 43 [Shamma 7419].



256 257 258 259 260

261 262 263 264 265

266 267 268 269 270

Obv: As last, but standard crown ornament. Rev: Star as noted, hands RR, date šypnca. Mint and margin as last.

YE 56 (began 16 Dhū al-Qaʿda 67)

271 AR 1h 3.80g – Right crown ornament indistinct; star right; slightly clipped [Shamma 7411].

272 AR 9h 4.13g – Star left; die damage in ObQ3; different dies [bought at Tehran, 1952].

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent. Crown ornament: star left and star right. Name: apdlmylyk amyr / y wyrwyšnykan. Standard Dārābjird margin. Rev: Star right, hands RR, date šst. Mint: da in normal location, p left of altar base. Margin: pellet at 11h30.

YE 60 (began 28 Dhū al-Ḥijja 71)

273 AR 9h 3.92g – Cmks no. 28 in ObQ2 and something resembling retrograde no. 29 in ObQ1 [Shamma 7388].

274 AR 3h 3.68g – Slightly clipped [Shamma 7390].

275 AR 3h 4.09g – Pellet in reverse margin weak [Shamma 7634].

276 AR 10h 3.86g – [Shamma 7662].

277 AR 3h 4.04g – [bequest, A.W. Pullan, ex Album, list 64, no. 54].
Die-link: Obverse: 273=277.

Dimashq (in Arabic)

Later Khusraw type

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent (weak), standard crown. Name: awsrwy. Margin: *bism allāh / muḥammad rasūl allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR. To left, *dimashq* (دمشق), to right, *thanayn wa sabʿīn* (ثنين و سبعين), though the last portion of *sabʿīn* is obscured by a large die break. Margin plain, but with fourth outer circle.

AH 72

278 AR 3h 3.41g – [purchase, H. Weber, 1970].

As last, but obverse margin: *bism allāh / lā ilāh illā allāh wa- / ḥdahu muḥammad ra- / sūl allāh*. On reverse, to right, *thalāth wa sabʿīn* (ثلث و سبعين); to left, as last; pellets flanking top s/c; no fourth outer circle.

AH 73

279 AR 3h 3.15g – Creased [Shamma 520].

DŠ or DŠT (presumably Dasht Maysān)

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E and B as noted, no crescent, standard crown. Name: awbytala / y zayatan. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date šst. Mint dš, with pellet before. Margin plain or as noted.

AH 60

280 AR 3h 3.86g – E0, B0; Pahlavi p at 1h in reverse margin; worn and scruffy [Shamma 7626].

281 AR 2h 2.80g – E6, B0; clipped [Shamma 7537].

282 AR 3h 2.56g – E2, B6; clipped [Shamma 7723].
All different dies.

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name as last. Margin broken away. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date aywkwšst, mint dšt. Left fillet omitted. Margin broken away.

AH 61

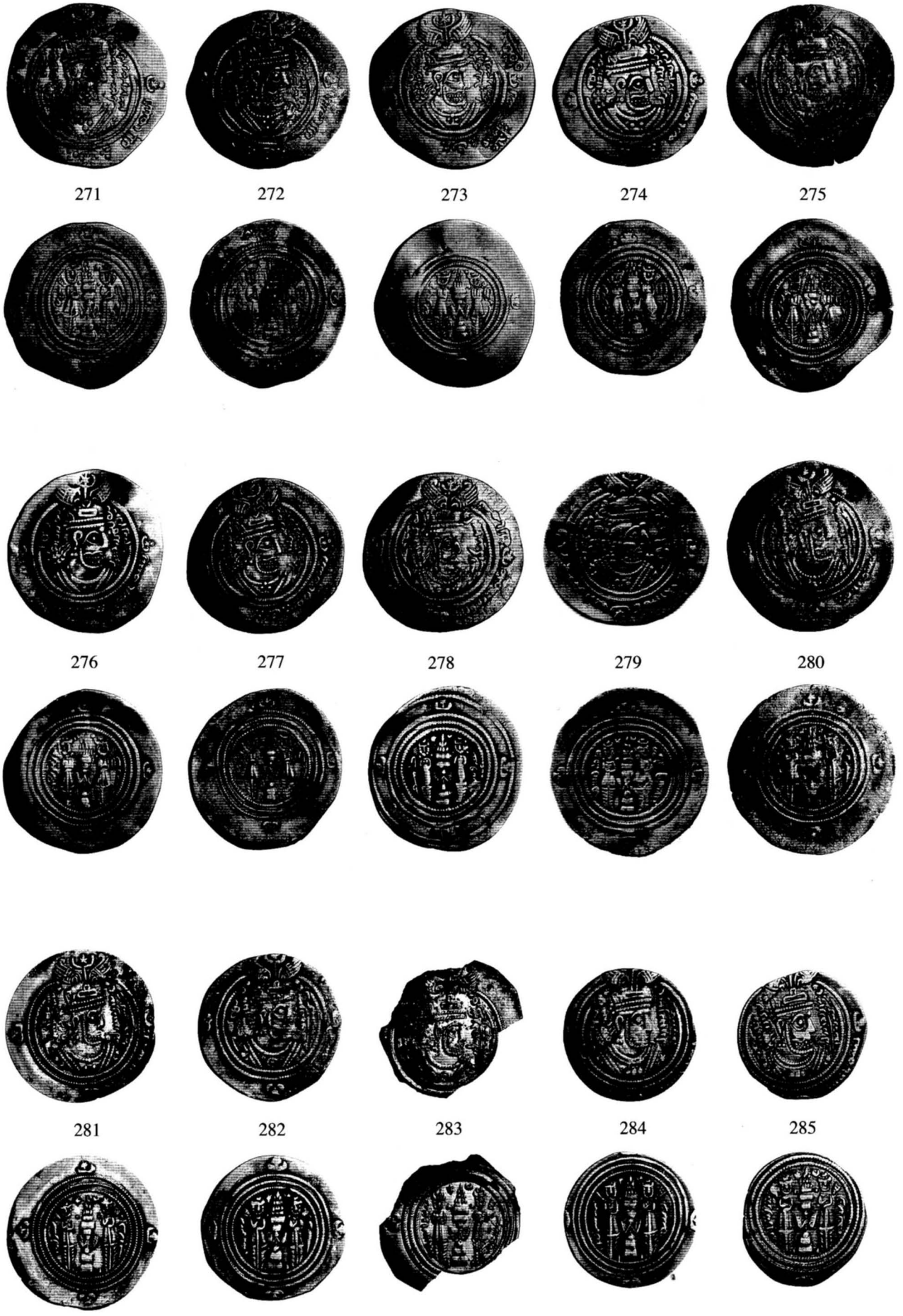
283 AR 2h 2.07g – Clipped and badly broken [Shamma 7510].

Obv: E0, B4, no crescent, standard crown. Name as last. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (annulet with pellet inside) / (four pellets) — / —. Necklace indicated by a double line. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date syšst, mint dšt. Margin plain.

AH 63

284 AR 9h 2.53g – Clipped [Shamma 7625].

285 AR 3h 2.30g – Clipped [Shamma 7580].



271 272 273 274 275

276 277 278 279 280

281 282 283 284 285

286 AR 2h 2.78g – Clipped [purchase, Persic Gallery, list 25, 1989, no. 368].
All different dies.

As LAST, but no pellet inside annulet after *bism allāh*, date CHRŠST, double line necklace. No left fillet on reverse.

AH 64

287 AR 2h 2.91g – Clipped [Shamma 7548].

Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr

OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWCAP Y / ZWBYRAN followed by a pellet. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / *muṣᶜab* / — (مصعب). REV: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST, mint DŠT. Margin presumably plain.

AH 67

288 AR 2h 2.61g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7697].

GD (Jayy)

Khusraw type with rabbī allāh

OBV: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *rabbī allāh* / — / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date HFTSY. Margin plain.

YE 37 (began 20 Rabīᶜ II 48)

289 AR 3h 4.01g – [Shamma 7669].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

OBV: E0, B4, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — "GM" / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Outer pellets at each s/c, mostly missing on these clipped specimens. REV: Star left, hands RR, date šST. Margin plain.

AH 60

290 AR 4h 2.29g – Clipped [Shamma 7554].

291 AR 3h 2.64g – Same reverse die as last; clipped [Shamma 7530].

292 AR 3h 3.36g – Clipped [Shamma 7513].

As LAST, but E1 and date DWŠST with double-looped D.

AH 62

293 AR 3h 2.73g – Clipped [Shamma 7507].

294 AR 3h 2.31g – Clipped [Shamma 7578].

295 AR 2h 3.73g – [purchase, Spink & Son, 1955, ex Glendining, April 1955, lot 731].
All different dies.

As LAST, but date TRYNŠST.

AH 62

296 AR 3h 3.93g – [Shamma 7525].

OBV: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name ABWYTALA (sic) / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: ŠTWRAM / *bism allāh* / — / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date DWŠST. Margin plain.

AH 62

297* AR 9h 2.34g – Reverse somewhat coarsely engraved; clipped [Shamma 7535].

As NO. 290, but date SYCŠST (sic).

AH 63

298* AR 4h 4.01g – [Shamma 7568].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

OBV: E0, B4, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLAA (sic) / Y ZWBYRAN. Margin: — "GM" / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Outer pellets at each s/c. REV: Star left, hands RR, date SYCŠST. Plain margin.

AH 63

299* AR 3h 3.97g – [Shamma 7403].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (posthumous)

OBV: E1, B4, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — "GM" / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. REV: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTŠST. Margin plain.

AH 68

300* AR 2h 2.75g – Outer pellets, if any, clipped away [Shamma 7748].

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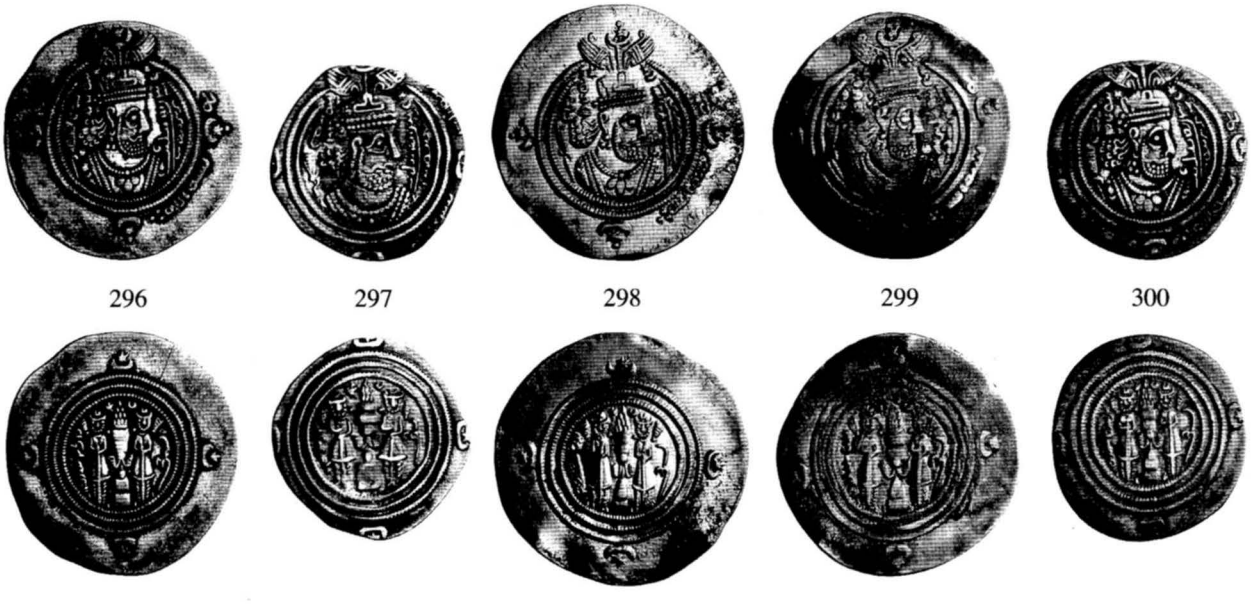
291 292 293 294 295



296 297 298 299 300

ᶜAbd Allāh b. Khāzim

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent. Crown ornament: none to left, crescent alone to right. Name, very crudely written: APDWLA / Y HMAN (Z omitted!). Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (...) / (...). Rev: Star right, hands RR, date WYST (poorly written). Mint could be confused with SK. Margin probably plain, but partly broken away. Clearly an imitation.

"20"

301 AR 10h 2.60g – Large section broken away. Cmk'd no. 14 over right s/c, no. 16 in ObQ3, and a third obscured by no. 14 [purchase, Baldwin's, 1969, ex Kress/München, 5 May 1959, lot 711].

Khālid b. Abī Khālid

Obv: E1, B4, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HALYT Y / ABWHALYTAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Outer pellet at all s/c. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date TLTAHŠTAT. Margin plain.

AH 83

302 AR 3h 4.13g – [Shamma 7451].

GRM-KRMAN
(unlocated, in Kirmān province)

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y ZWPYRAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* BPR / GDH (star) / —. Rev: Star right, hands EE, date NAWŠST (poorly written). Margin plain.

AH 69

303 AR 3h 4.09g – [Shamma 7407].

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: YZYT Y / MWHALPAN. Margin: — / *quwwa yazīdu billāh* / ŠYR — / — (قوة يزيد بالله), with point below *bā* of *billāh*. Rev: Star probably left but obscured by double-striking, hands (E?)E, date HŠTHFTAT. Margin plain.

AH 78

304 AR 3h 3.79g – [Shamma 7780].

Ḥimṣ (in Arabic)

Later Khusraw type

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, probably standard crown (left ornament unclear). Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh muḥammad* / *rasūl allāh* / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, to right, *ḥimṣ sana* (حمص سنة), to left, *ithnayn wa sabᶜīn* (اثنين و سبعين). Margin plain, but fourth outer circle. Left fillet omitted.

AH 72

305* AR 4h 2.80g – Clipped [Shamma 487].

HRA (Harāt)

Salm b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, normally standard crown. Name: SLM Y / ZYYATAN or ZAYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFSST (sic). Margin: Star at 11h30.

AH 67

306 AR 3h 3.76g – Crescent above shoulder omitted. Cmk #14 in ObQ1. ZYYATAN [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

307 AR 2h 3.70g – ZAYATAN. Different dies [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MHMT / Y APDWLA (Y partly obscured by weakness). Margin as last. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFŠT (sic). Margin plain.

AH 67

308* AR 1h 3.86g – [gift, J.B. Elliot, 1859, = Walker Ox.5 = Gaube 65].

KRMAN (Kirmān)

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 58

309 AR 3h 3.89g – [Shamma 7581].

310 AR 3h 3.96g – Same obverse die [purchase, R.E. Lee, 1952].

ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWMR Y / AWBYDWALAAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* / (stemmed trefoil) / —; pellet before the trefoil (or forming the tip of its stem). Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCŠST. Margin: probably plain.

AH 65

311 AR 10h 2.71g – Clipped and very worn [Shamma 7817].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B0, small pellet in crescent above shoulder, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y ZWBYRAN. Margin: — / *allāh* PYRWC BPRWYAN / — / —. Triplet in the angle between left wing of crown and the outer circle. Outer pellet at bottom s/c. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCŠST. Margin plain.

AH 65

312 AR 6h 4.08g – cmk no. 48 in ObQ2 [Shamma 7408].

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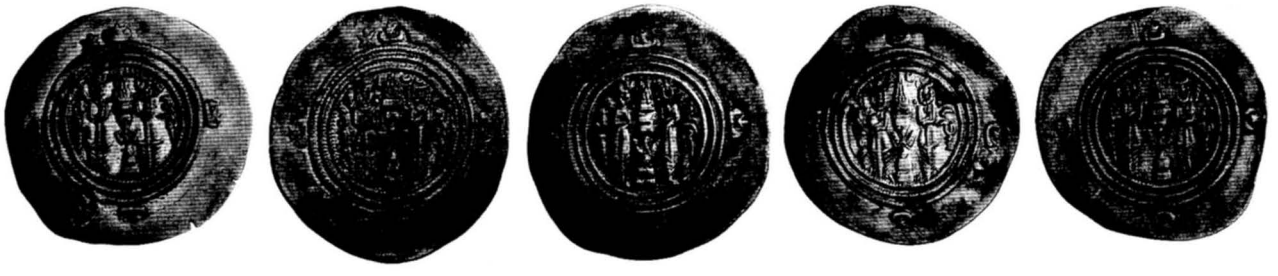
306 307 308 309 310



311 312

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name as last. Margin: — / *bism allāh* BPRWY / — / —. Outer pellets on all four s/c. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST. Margin plain.

AH 67

313 AR 12h 3.82g – [Shamma 7406].

KRMAN-AN

Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B0, with tiny crescent, standard crown. Name: MWCAP / Y ZWPYRAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* BPRWY (pellet) / (pellet) GDH / —, with outer pellet by bottom s/c. Rev: Star left, hands as noted, date NWŠST. Margin plain.

AH 69

314 AR 10h 3.14g – Hands RR. Cmk no. 48 in ObQ1; clipped [Shamma 7700].

315* AR 12h 4.07g – Hands RL. Cmk no. 48 in ObQ3; different dies [Shamma 7701].

KRMAN-ANAN

ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ATYYA / Y ASWDAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh walī al-amr* / AN — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date DWHFTAT. Margin plain.

AH 72

316 AR 11h 4.07g – [Shamma 7500].

KRMAN-AT

ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ATYYA / Y ASWDAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh walī al-amr* / AT — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date DWHFTAT. Margin plain.

AH 72

317 AR 10h 3.75g – Chipped and nearly cracked in two [Shamma 7498].

As LAST, but ObQ3 is empty and date is SYHFTAT.

AH 73

318 AR 2h 3.99g – Mint somewhat uncertain, due to doublestriking. Small stroke at 6h30 in obverse margin is probably just die damage [Shamma 7502].

KRMAN-BN

ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ATYYA / Y ASWTAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh walī al-amr* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠYHFTAT. Margin: pellets flanking top s/c.

AH 76

319 AR 2h 3.99g – Mint double-struck and somewhat uncertain [Shamma 7504].

Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA KTRYY / AMYR Y WRWYŠNYKAN. Margin: — / *lā ḥukm illā lillāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTHFTAT. Margin plain. Pellet between AN of mint and right attendant.

AH 77

320 AR 9h 3.72g – [Shamma 7399].

KRMAN-GY (Jīruft)

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHRŠST (ŠST very compressed). Margin plain.

AH 64

321 AR 8h 3.87g – [Shamma 7533].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent. Crown ornament: star left only. Name: APDWLA AMYR / Y WRWYŠNYKAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (annulet) / (...) / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠST. Margin presumably plain.

AH 66

322 AR 2h 2.89g – Clipped [Shamma 7405].

Obv: As last, but margin: — / *bism allāh* BPRWY / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST (very compressed). Margin plain. Both fillets replaced by large pellets.

AH 67

323 AR 5h 3.20g – Clipped [Shamma 7404].

KRMAN-NAR

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B9, with crescent, standard crown. Name AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠST. Margin plain.

AH 60

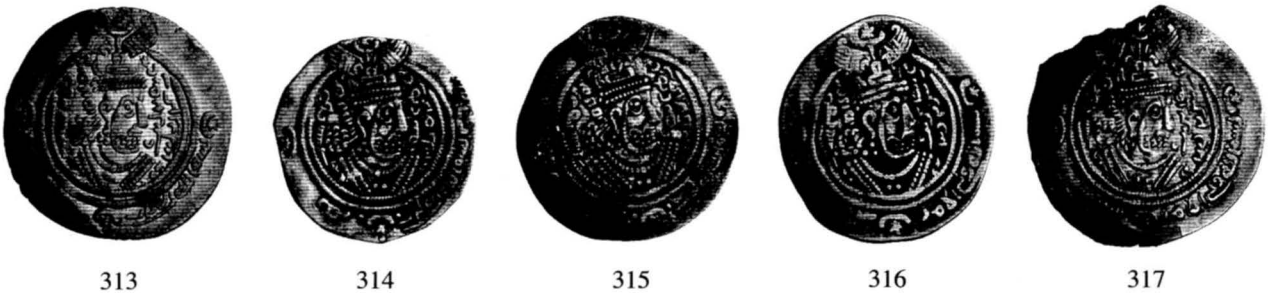
324 AR 8h 4.02g – [Shamma 7534].

ᶜAṭīya b. al-Aswad

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ATYYA / Y ASWDAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh walī al-amr* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date somewhat double-struck but appears to be DWHTAT without F. Margin plain.

AH 72

325* AR 9h 3.85g – [Shamma 7499].



313 314 315 316 317

318 319 320 321 322

323 324 325

Obv: E illegible, B0, shoulder and crown ornaments illegible. Name and margin as last. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SHFTAT. Margin: triplet at 11h30.

AH 73

326 AR 10h 3.43g – Much encrustation, partially obscuring some details [Shamma 7501].

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent. Crown ornament: star left and star right. Name and margin as last. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTHFTAT. Margin plain. Right fillet omitted.

AH 77

327 AR 1h 3.67g – [purchase, H. Weber, 1970].

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: YZYT Y / MWHALPAN. Margin: — / *quwwa yazīdu billāh* / ŠYR — / (pellet) —, with pellet below *bā* of *billāh*. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTHFTAT. Margin plain.

AH 78

328 AR 8h 4.07g – Graffiti in RvQ1 [Shamma 7779].

KRMAN-SR (or -AR)

Muṣ^{c}ab b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: MWCAP / Y ZWPYRAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* BPRWY (pellet) / (pellet) GDH / —, with outer pellet by bottom s/c. Pellet in angle between left wing and outer circle. Rev: Star left, hands (R?)R, date NWŠST. Margin plain.

AH 69

329 AR 9h 4.02g – Same obverse die as Walker 206 of KRMAN-AN [Shamma 7698].

KRMAN-WAN (or -NAW)

^{c}Aṭīya b. al-Aswad

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ATYYA / Y ASWDAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh walī al-amr* / *jayyid* — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCHFTAT. Margin: WAN (or NAW) at 6h30.

AH 75

330 AR 12h 4.04g – [Shamma 7503].

KWAT (Qubādh Khurra)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, fillet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Large pellet above F of AFZWT. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date DWPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 52

331 AR 3h 2.76g – Same reverse die as Walker 66; clipped [Shamma 7464].

332 AR 3h 3.81g – Same dies, heavily scratched [Shamma 7467].

MRW (Marw)

Salm b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: SLM Y / ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date sšst. Margin plain.

AH 63

333 AR 2h 3.71g – Lightly punched cmk #14 in ObQ4 [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

As last, but no crescent above shoulder and date CHRŠST.

AH 64

334 AR 3h 3.92g – [Shamma 7478].

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^{c}Abd Allāh b. Khāzim

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y HZMAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date šššst. Margin plain.

AH 66

335 AR 3h 2.60g – Clipped [Shamma 7489].

As last, but date NWHŠST and pellets in reverse margin flanking top s/c.

AH 69

336 AR 3h 3.42g – Cmk no. 40 in ObQ1, probably no. 33 in ObQ3, and no. X1 in ObQ1 [purchase, H. Weber, 1970].

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al-Musayyib b. (Shihr?)

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWSYYB / Y ŠHRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (pellet) / (pellet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR (or possibly RE, much worn), date NAWHFTAT. Margin plain.

AH 79

337* AR 8h 2.79g – Clipped [Shamma 7815, = Sears 1999, pp. 19-24].

MRWRWT (Marw al-Rūdh)

Salm b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, pellet above shoulder, left crown ornament omitted. Name: SALM Y / ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date sšst. Margin plain. To judge by the spacing of the mint, the letters RWT were probably added later to a Marw die.

AH 63

338 AR 3h 3.60g – Slightly clipped [Shamma 7782].

As last, but no shoulder ornament and standard crown ornaments. On reverse, pellet before mint.

AH 63

339 AR 3h 2.69g – Obverse double-struck. Trace of illegible cmk in ObQ1; clipped [Shamma 7480].

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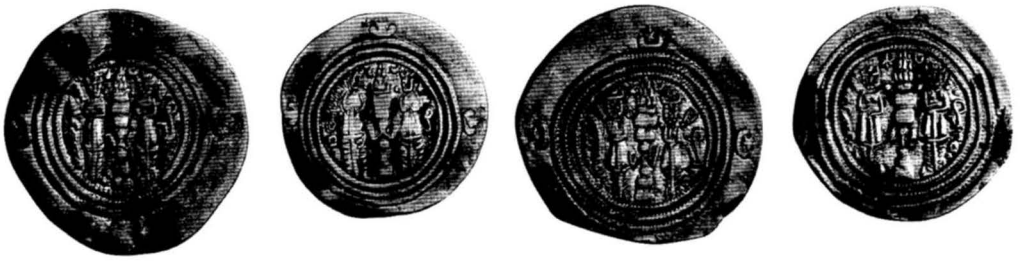
331 332 333 334 335

336 337 338 339



Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, probably standard crown (not clear). Name and margin as last. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHRŠST. Margin plain.

AH 64

340 AR 9h 4.06g – Some die damage on beard, cheek and earring [Shamma 7479].

NAR (unlocated, in Kirmān province)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, fillet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / (*rabbī*) / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date DWPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 52

341 AR 3h 2.30g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7465].

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd

Obv: E0, B0, pellet above shoulder, standard crown. Name: APDRMAN / Y ZYTAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHRPNA (sic). Margin plain.

AH 54

342 AR 1h 2.89g – Clipped [Shamma 7486].

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al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ᶜĀṣ

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HKM Y / ABWLACAN. Margin: — / *allāh rabb al-ḥukm* / — / — (الله رب الحكم). Rev: Star left, hands RR, date probably ŠŠPCA without the N, but partially obscured by doublestriking. Margin plain.

AH 56

343 AR 9h 2.77g – Clipped [Shamma 7505].

Obv: As last, but margin — *bism* / *allāh rabb al-ḥukm* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LL, date HFPNCAH (sic). Margin: triplet at 0h30.

AH 57

344* AR 9h 2.61g – Clipped and corroded; die damage in breast ornament [Shamma 7506].

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: HKM Y / ABWLACAN followed by pellet. Margin: — / *bism allāh rabb al-ḥukm* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HŠTPNCA (final A very truncated). Margin plain.

AH 58

345 AR 9h 3.10g – Clipped [Shamma 7445].

NHR (unlocated)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN (*iḍāfa* omitted). Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (pellet) / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date SPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 53

346 AR 9h 3.99g – [Shamma 7469].

NY (possibly Nihāwand)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN, probably without *iḍāfa*, but area obscured by a die break. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date SPNCA. Margin plain.

AH 53

347 AR 3h 2.98g – Clipped and abraded [Shamma 7470].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date CHRPNCY (sic). Margin plain.

AH 54

348* AR 6h 2.68g – Clipped [Shamma 7522].

As LAST, but B6, ZAYATAN, hands RR and date SYŠST.

AH 63

349 AR 10h 3.89g – [Shamma 7538].

350 AR 3h 2.11g – Clipped; different dies [Shamma 7524].

NYW? (unlocated)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN, without *iḍāfa*. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCWYST. Margin plain.

year 25 of uncertain era

351 AR 3h 2.79g – Clipped [Shamma 7453].

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al-Rayy (in Arabic)

Nuṣayr

Obv: E0, B11, annulet above shoulder. Crown ornaments: star left and star right. Name: NSYR. Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. Rev: Two stars. Mint *al-rayy sana* (الري سنة), date *thamān wa sittīn wa mi'a* (ثمان وستين ومئة). Standard Ṭabaristān margin.

AH 168

352 AR 5h 2.10g – Reverse somewhat double-struck [Shamma 7765].

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SK (Sīstān/Sijistān)

Yazdigerd type with bism allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: YZKRT unless noted otherwise, with very short R when included. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date WYST. Margin plain. Both sides normally coarsely engraved.

YE 20 (frozen, circa AH 31-45)

353 AR 9h 3.82g – Worn [Shamma 7666].

354 AR 3h 2.95g – Name given as YZKT; clipped [Shamma 7672].

355 AR 2h 2.58g – Clipped [Shamma 7674].

356 AR 4h 2.53g – Clipped and worn [Shamma 7805].

357 AR 9h 4.04g – Date severely double-struck but probably normal WYST. Cmk no. 10 in ObQ1 [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

No die-links.

Khusraw type with bism allāh rabbī

Obv: E0, B0 (or as noted), with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Variations noted. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date HŠTCHL. Margin plain.

AH 48

358* AR 3h 2.88g – Clipped [Shamma 7606].

359 AR 10h 3.82g – B1, pellet left of altar lintel replaced by an annulet [Shamma 7607].

360 AR 1h 3.97g – [Shamma 7624].

361 AR 3h 2.76g – B1; clipped [Shamma 7665].

362 AR 3h 2.99g – Clipped [Shamma 7667].

363 AR 4h 2.73g – Pellet before *rabbī*; clipped [Shamma 7671].

364 AR 4h 3.18g – Pellet before *rabbī*; clipped [Shamma 7804].

No die-links.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠPNCA. Margin probably plain.

AH 56

365 AR 2h 2.76g – Clipped and worn, large flan crack [Shamma 7806].

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLACYC Y / APDWLA Y AMWRAN. Margin: — / (*bis*)*m allāh* / *al-ʿazīz* (four pellets) / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠŠST (final ST merged with attendant's right foot). Margin plain.

AH 66

366 AR 3h 4.04g – Cmk no. 14 over *bism* in ObQ2; patronymic rather compressed and barely legible (but clear on other known specimens) [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859].

Mālik b. (ʿAws?)

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MALYK Y / APWSAN (?). Margin: — / *mālik lillāh* (triplet) / — / — (ملك لله). Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠST. Margin plain.

AH 66

367* AR 4h 2.95g – Clipped [Shamma 7694].

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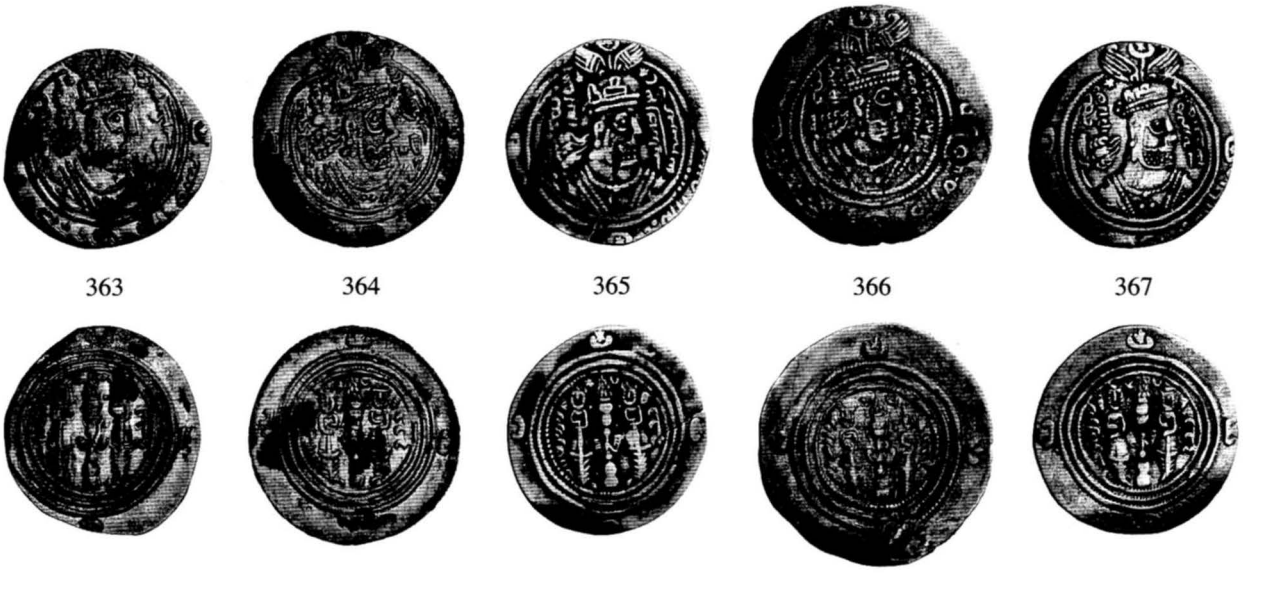
358 359 360 361 362

363 364 365 366 367



ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ABWBAKRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *ᶜubayd allāh lillāh* / — (عبيد الله لله). Rev: Star left, hands LR, date NAWHFTAT, pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 79

368 AR 12h 3.73g – Some corrosion in margins on both sides [Shamma 7610].

Obv: As last, but margin — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —, with point below *bā* of *bism*. Rev: No star or crescent by flames, hands LR, date as last, no pellet before mint. Margin plain.

AH 79

369 AR 3h 3.66g – [Shamma 7488].

Obv: As last. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date HŠTAT. Margin plain.

AH 80

370 AR 10h 3.62g – Worn [Shamma 7487].

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, left crown ornament omitted; pellet below hairball. Name: APDARMAN / Y MHMTAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date HŠTAT but very crudely engraved. Margin plain. Both sides very coarsely engraved.

AH 80

371 AR 10h 3.73g – Worn [Shamma 7484].

Khusraw type with bism allāh rabbī

Obv: E0, B0, with large crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* (pellet) / —. Rev: No star or crescent, hands RL, date probably TLTANWAT. Margin plain.

AH 93?

372* AR 10h 3.56g – Holed and probably clipped [gift, J.B. Elliott, 1859, = Walker Ox.1].

ST (Iṣṭakhr)

Khusraw type with bism allāh rabbī

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠWYST (somewhat double-struck). Margin presumably plain.

year "26"

373 AR 3h 2.69g – Clipped [Shamma 7620].
Probably a muling with an old Khusraw II reverse.

Khusraw type with bism allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCSYY (or PNCSYH). Margin plain.

AH? 35

374 AR 3h 2.68g – Illegible cmk in ObQ1; clipped [Shamma 7802].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTPNCA, pellet after mint. Margin plain.

AH 57

375 AR 9h 3.11g – Clipped [Shamma 7582].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E1, B6, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA AMYR / Y WRWYŠNAN (sic). Margin: — M / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date ŠŠST (rather coarsely engraved), pellet after mint. No left fillet. Margin: pellets flanking right s/c.

AH 66

376 AR 3h 2.60g – Clipped [Shamma 7418].

ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh

Obv: E1, B4, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWMR Y / AWBYTALAAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *lillāh al-ḥamd* (four pellets) / (pellet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date NAWŠST or as noted, pellet before mint. Margin: Pahlavi M preceded by pellet in RvQ1.

AH 69

377 AR 4h 2.66g – Crescent of earring nearly worn away; heavily clipped [Shamma 7601].

378 AR 3h 4.06g – Date NWCŠST; different dies [Shamma 7683].

Obv: As last, but no pellet in ObQ3. Rev: Star left, hands probably EE, date HFTAT, pellet after mint. Margin as last.

AH 70

379 AR 3h 3.77g – Die break across hands of left attendant, and die flaws near left s/c of obverse; edge chip [purchase, M. Mukhtarzadeh, probably 1967].

Obv: As last, but margin: — GWDAN / *lillāh al-ḥamd* (four pellets) / — / — Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTAT, pellet after mint. Margin plain.

AH 70

380 AR 2h 4.01g – [Shamma 7599].

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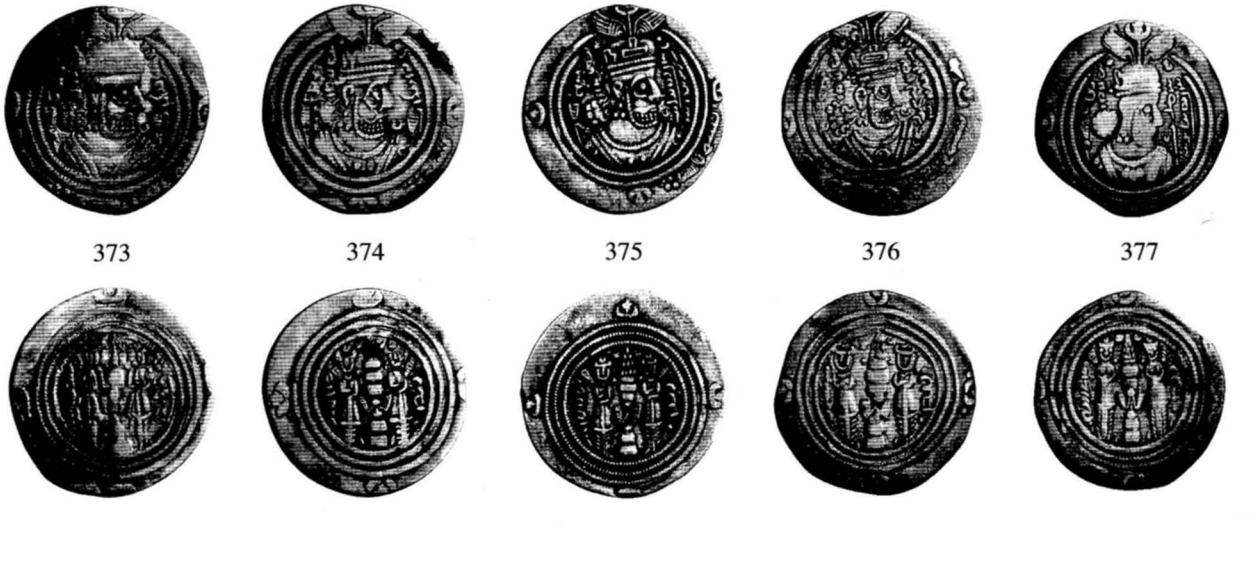

373 374 375 376 377

378 379 380

ŠY (unlocated)

Khusraw type with bism allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date CHARWYST. Margin plain.

YE 24 (began 30 Dhū al-Qaᶜda 34)

381 AR 4h 2.98g – Graffiti in ObQ4; clipped [Shamma 7621].

SYWKAN (unlocated)

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: — (die damage) / (pellet) *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Traces of pellets flanking bottom s/c that appear to have been effaced from the die. Nondescript "symbol" above right s/c is die damage. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYŠST. Margin plain.

AH 63

382 AR 9h 2.94g – As Walker B.19 (different dies); clipped [Shamma 7561].

Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, standard crown. Name HART Y / APDWLAN (sic). Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbunā* / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date PNCŠST. Margin: pellet at 1h.

AH 65

383* AR 3h 3.17g – Clipped [Shamma 7443].

384 AR 3h 2.93g – Clipped, different dies [Shamma 7447].

SYWKW (unlocated)

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / ABWSWPAN (*iḍāfa* omitted). Margin: — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date CHRPNCY (sic). Margin plain.

AH 54

385* AR 3h 2.28g – Clipped [Shamma 7476].

386 AR 9h 2.35g – Different dies; die break at lower s/c on reverse; heavily clipped [Shamma 7808].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E?, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZYYATAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date šst, pellet before mint. Margin: two pellets at 0h30.

AH 60

387 AR 9h 2.99g – Clipped [Shamma 7509].

TART (Tawwaj)

ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E1, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y ZWBYRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / DWWYST / —. Outer pellets at left, bottom and right s/c. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST, pellet after mint. Margin plain.

AH 67

388 AR 3h 4.05g – [Shamma 7409].

389 AR 3h 3.21g – Clipped; different dies [Shamma 7410].

ᶜAbd al- ᶜAzīz b. ᶜAbd Allāh (b. Khālid)

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: APDLACYCW / Y APDWLAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date numeral '4' followed by HFTAT, pellet after mint. No left fillet. Margin plain.

AH 74

390 AR 3h 2.62g – Clipped [Shamma 7485].

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al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra

Obv: E1, B1, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWHLP Y / ABWCWFRAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (triplet) / FRAWZAT (pellet) / —; outer pellets at left, bottom and right s/c. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date PNCHFTAT, pellet after mint. No left fillet. Margin plain.

AH 75

391 AR 3h 4.24g – Covered with hornsilver [Shamma 7778].

392 AR 3h 4.09g – Different dies [Shamma 7784].

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al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf

Obv: E1, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name, in Arabic: *al-ḥajjāj bin / yūsuf*. Margin: *bism allāh / lā ilāh illā a- / llāh waḥdahu muḥammad / rasūl allāh*. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date HŠTHFTA without final T, pellets at mint as noted. Margin plain.

AH 78

393 AR 8h 3.93g – One pellet before, two pellets after mint [Shamma 7433].

394 AR 9h 3.96g – One pellet before and one after mint; pellet below hairball; different dies [Shamma 7435].

Obv: As last, but B6; one pellet before *bism* and one after *rasūl allāh*. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date HŠTHFTA (sic), one pellet before and one after mint. Margin: Pahlavi M at 8h30.

AH 78

395 AR 3h 4.01g – Same reverse die as Walker B.38; lightly hornsilvered [Shamma 7432].

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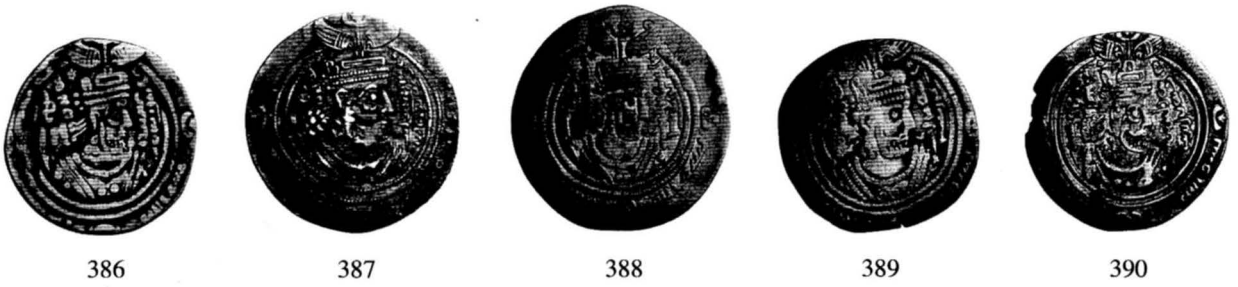

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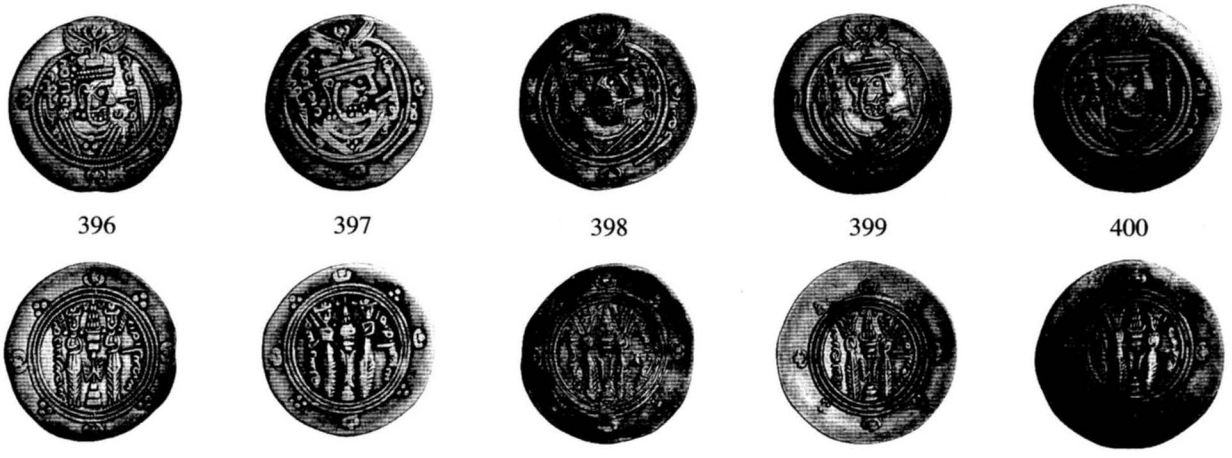
391 392 393 394 395



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Saᶜīd

OBV: E0, B12, with crescent, standard crown. Name: *saᶜīd* (سعيد). Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Star left, date PNCWYSTST, standard margin.

PYE 125

411 AR 9h 1.99g – Large die break on reverse, from centre to 4h in margin [Shamma 7795].

AS LAST, but date ŠŠWYSTST.

PYE 126

412 AR 2h 2.05g – Lightly encrusted [purchase, B.A. Seaby, 1964, ex *Bulletin*, January 1964, no. A1081].

AS LAST, but crown ornament: star left and star right. Date defectively spelled ŠŠYSTST without W.

PYE 126

413 AR 10h 1.90g – Some corrosion in obverse and reverse margins [Shamma 7755].

ᶜUmar (again)

OBV: E0, B12, with crescent, stars at crown (as is standard on all Ṭabaristān coins from here on). Name: *ᶜumar*. Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Star left, date HFTWYSTST, pellet above mint, standard margin.

PYE 127

414 AR 7h 1.84g – [Shamma 7752].

415 AR 5h 1.84g – [Shamma 7742].

AS LAST, but date HŠTWYSTST.

PYE 128

416 AR 4h 1.89g – [Shamma 7753].

AS LAST, but date NWWYSTST.

PYE 129

417 AR 11h 1.82g – Die break at 2h30 in reverse margin [Shamma 7793].

Yaḥyā

OBV: E0, B1, with crescent, stars at crown. Name: *yaḥyā* (يحيى). Margin: (ornament) / APD / NYWKW / (ornament). Large fillet on left shoulder. REV: Star left, date as last, pellet above mint, standard margin.

PYE 129

418 AR 9h 1.83g – [Shamma 7739].

Anonymous AFZWT type

(For differences in the AFZWT coinage type, see the introduction; these differences are not specified in each entry.)
OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: AFZWT. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: No star or crescent, date DWSYYST, standard margin.

PYE 132

419 AR 8h 1.78g – [Shamma 7756].

OBV: As last, but B9. REV: Two stars, date SYSYST, standard margin.

PYE 133

420* AR 3h 1.96g – Traces of mount [Shamma 7799].

421 AR 11h 1.93g – [purchase, Baldwin's, 1957].

OBV: As last, but B1. REV: Two pellets, date as last, standard margin.

PYE 133

422 AR 8h 1.87g – [Keble College].

OBV: As last, but B9. REV: Two stars, date CHARSYST, pellet above mint, standard margin.

PYE 134

423 AR 12h 2.24g – Much dark green encrustation on obverse [Keble College].

Mihrān

OBV: E0, B13, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *mihrān* (مهران) with pellet below. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: Star right, date PNCSYST, standard margin.

PYE 135

424 AR 3h 1.97g – [Shamma 7644].

Jarīr

OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: AFZWT. Margin: — / APD / *jarīr* / — (جرير). REV: Two stars, date PNCSYYST (or PNCSHST), standard margin.

PYE 135

425 AR 9h 1.89g – Apparent pellet at 8h30 obverse is a die nick [Shamma 7738].

Saᶜīd

OBV: E0, B12, with crescent, standard crown. Name: *saᶜīd* (سعيد). Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Star left, date PNCWYSTST, standard margin.

PYE 125

411 AR 9h 1.99g – Large die break on reverse, from centre to 4h in margin [Shamma 7795].

AS LAST, but date ŠŠWYSTST.

PYE 126

412 AR 2h 2.05g – Lightly encrusted [purchase, B.A. Seaby, 1964, ex *Bulletin*, January 1964, no. A1081].

AS LAST, but crown ornament: star left and star right. Date defectively spelled ŠŠYSTST without W.

PYE 126

413 AR 10h 1.90g – Some corrosion in obverse and reverse margins [Shamma 7755].

ᶜUmar (again)

OBV: E0, B12, with crescent, stars at crown (as is standard on all Ṭabaristān coins from here on). Name: *ᶜumar*. Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Star left, date HFTWYSTST, pellet above mint, standard margin.

PYE 127

414 AR 7h 1.84g – [Shamma 7752].

415 AR 5h 1.84g – [Shamma 7742].

AS LAST, but date HŠTWYSTST.

PYE 128

416 AR 4h 1.89g – [Shamma 7753].

AS LAST, but date NWWYSTST.

PYE 129

417 AR 11h 1.82g – Die break at 2h30 in reverse margin [Shamma 7793].

Yaḥyā

OBV: E0, B1, with crescent, stars at crown. Name: *yaḥyā* (يحيى). Margin: (ornament) / APD / NYWKW / (ornament). Large fillet on left shoulder. REV: Star left, date as last, pellet above mint, standard margin.

PYE 129

418 AR 9h 1.83g – [Shamma 7739].

Anonymous AFZWT type

(For differences in the AFZWT coinage type, see the introduction; these differences are not specified in each entry.)
OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: AFZWT. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: No star or crescent, date DWSYYST, standard margin.

PYE 132

419 AR 8h 1.78g – [Shamma 7756].

OBV: As last, but B9. REV: Two stars, date SYSYST, standard margin.

PYE 133

420* AR 3h 1.96g – Traces of mount [Shamma 7799].

421 AR 11h 1.93g – [purchase, Baldwin's, 1957].

OBV: As last, but B1. REV: Two pellets, date as last, standard margin.

PYE 133

422 AR 8h 1.87g – [Keble College].

OBV: As last, but B9. REV: Two stars, date CHARSYST, pellet above mint, standard margin.

PYE 134

423 AR 12h 2.24g – Much dark green encrustation on obverse [Keble College].

Mihrān

OBV: E0, B13, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *mihrān* (مهران) with pellet below. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: Star right, date PNCSYST, standard margin.

PYE 135

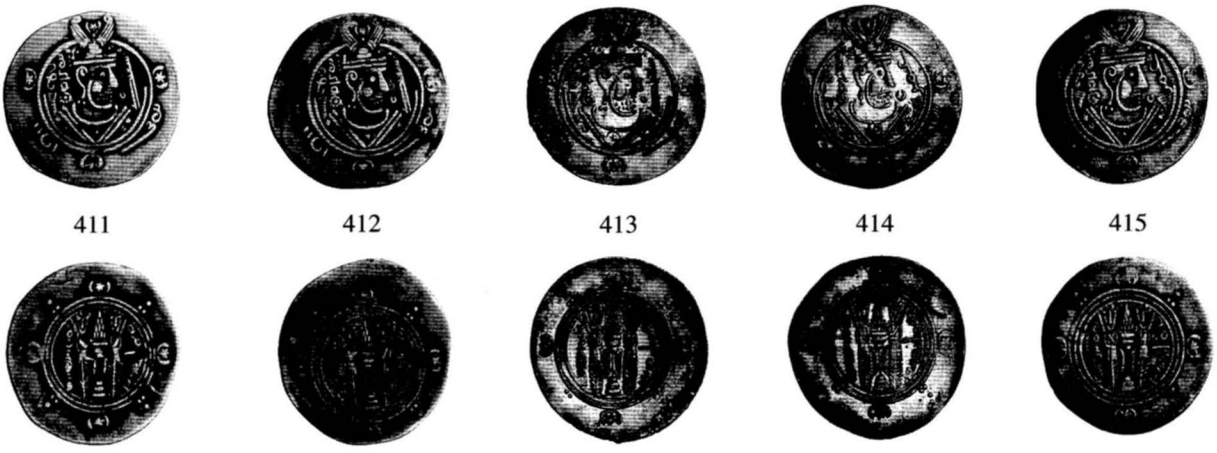
424 AR 3h 1.97g – [Shamma 7644].

Jarīr

OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: AFZWT. Margin: — / APD / *jarīr* / — (جرير). REV: Two stars, date PNCSYYST (or PNCSHST), standard margin.

PYE 135

425 AR 9h 1.89g – Apparent pellet at 8h30 obverse is a die nick [Shamma 7738].



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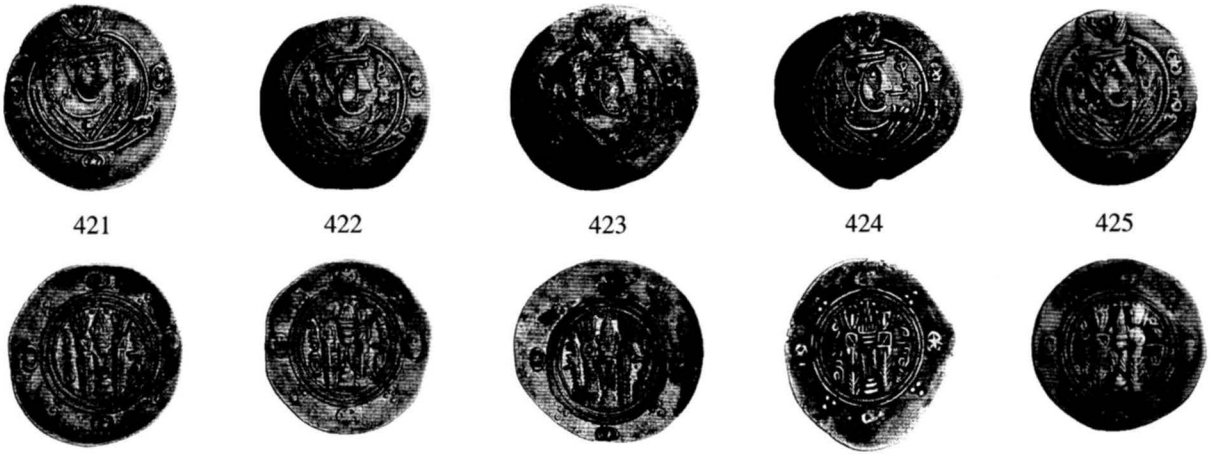


421 422 423 424 425

Anonymous AFZWT *type*

OBV: E0, B0 or B9, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: AFZWT. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: Two stars or two pellets (not clear), date PNCSYYST, standard margin.

PYE 135

426 AR 3h 1.90g – B0 [Keble College].

427 AR 2h 1.96g – B9; date double-struck [Keble College, = Walker Ox.9].

AS LAST, but B1 and date ŠŠSYYST. Variations noted, principally the items flanking the altar flames.

PYE 136

428 AR 8h 1.93g – Two stars [Shamma 7757].

429 AR 9h 1.81g – Two stars, date ŠŠSYST, many die breaks on reverse [Keble College].

430 AR 1h 1.92g – Two pellets, many die breaks on reverse [Keble College].

431 AR 6h 2.21g – Two pellets [Keble College].

432 AR 3h 2.17g – Two pellets, date ŠŠSYST [Keble College].

433* AR 6h 1.94g – Two pellets [Keble College, = Walker Ox.10].

Sulaymān

OBV: Face replaced by a diamond enclosing the Arabic word *bakh* (بخ). No earring (no ear!), B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *sulaymān* (سليمن) followed by a second "hairball". Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Two rudimentary stars, date HFTSYYST, standard margin.

PYE 137

434 AR 10h 2.14g – [Shamma 7750].

435 AR 3h 2.07g – [Shamma 7760].

436 AR 3h 1.73g – Clearly two pellets instead of two stars by flames [purchase, S. Album, 1980, = List 16, no. 203].

Hānī

OBV: E0, normally B12, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *hānī* (هاني), below which is the Arabic letter *ʿayn* (ع). Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Two stars, date HFTSYYST, standard margin.

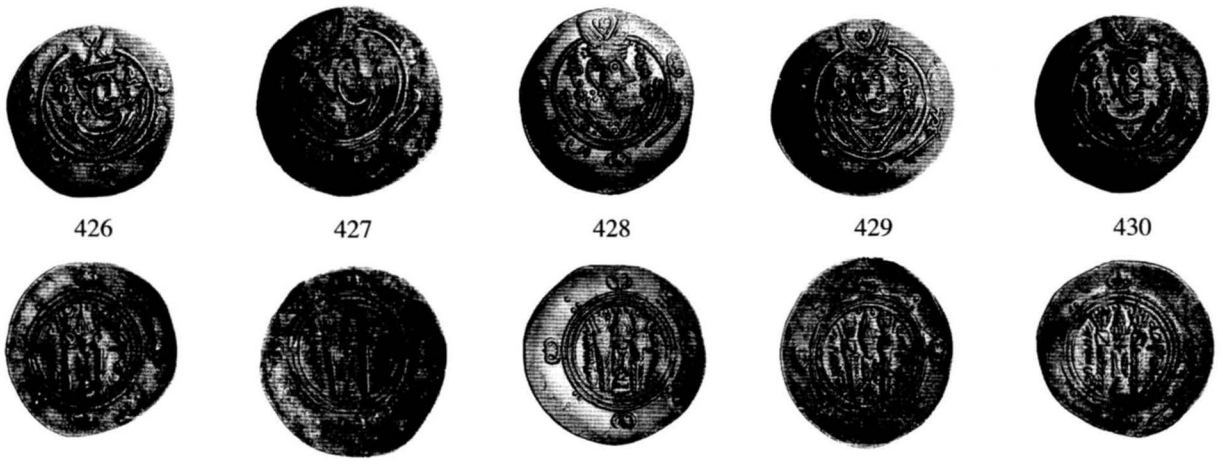
PYE 137

437 AR 3h 1.88g – [Shamma 7737].

438 AR 5h 1.91g – [Shamma 7768].

439 AR 3h 1.79g – Die breaks obscure much of breast ornament and the reverse circles at 7h30 [Shamma 7769].

440 AR 8h 1.96g – B1, large die break around most of obverse margin [purchase, Spink & Son, 1955, = Glendining, April 1955, lot 731].



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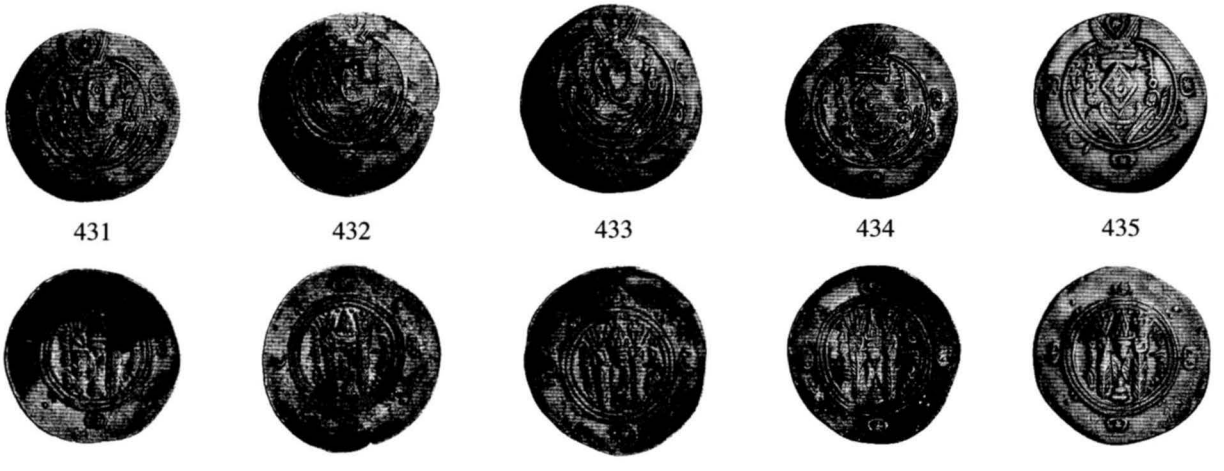

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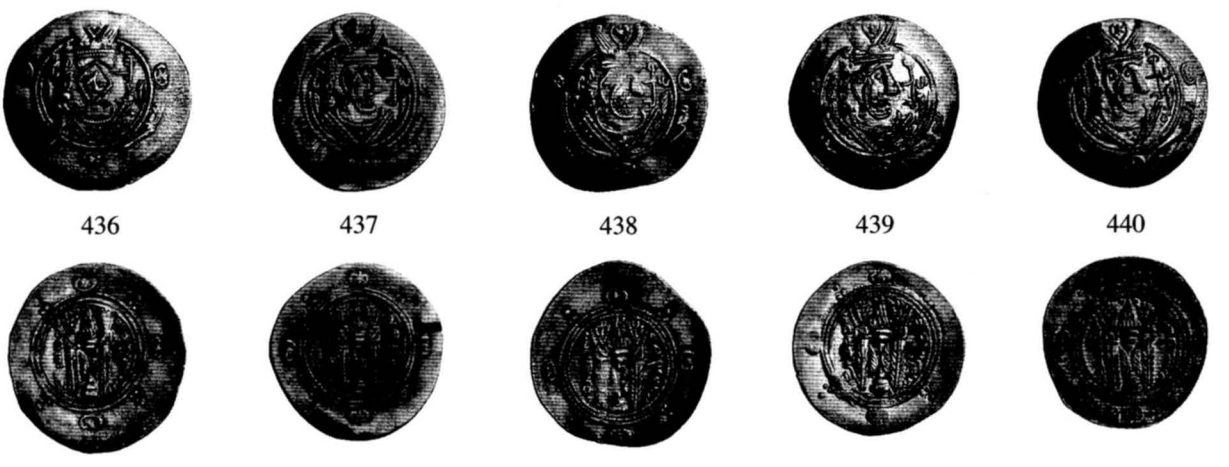


436 437 438 439 440

Anonymous AFZWT type

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: AFZWT. Margin: — / APD / NWKW (sic) / —. Rev: Two pellets, date HFTSYYST, standard margin.

PYE 137

441 AR 6h 1.78g – [purchase, Sobin Galleries, 1960].

Hānī

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, normally stars at crown. Name: *hānī*, with letter *ʿayn* below (as in previous year). Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. Rev: Two pellets or two stars, date HŠTSYYST, standard margin.

PYE 138

442 AR 4h 1.83g – No crown ornaments, two pellets [Shamma 7767].

443 AR 6h 1.98g – Two stars; tiny pellets added atop both ends of inner circle on obverse [Shamma 7770].

Muqātil

Obv: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *muqātil* (مقاتل). Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. Rev: Star left and crescent right or as noted; date NAWSYYST; standard margin.

PYE 139

444 AR 4h 2.00g – [Shamma 7646].

445 AR 3h 2.08g – Two stars; huge die break in ObQ2 obscuring APD [Shamma 7647].

446 AR 8h 1.64g – [Shamma 7648].

447 AR 2h 1.97g – [Shamma 7649].

448 AR 1h 2.15g – [Shamma 7650].

449 AR 6h 1.86g – Probably two stars [Shamma 7651].

450 AR 3h 2.20g – Star right and crescent left; flan crack [Shamma 7652].

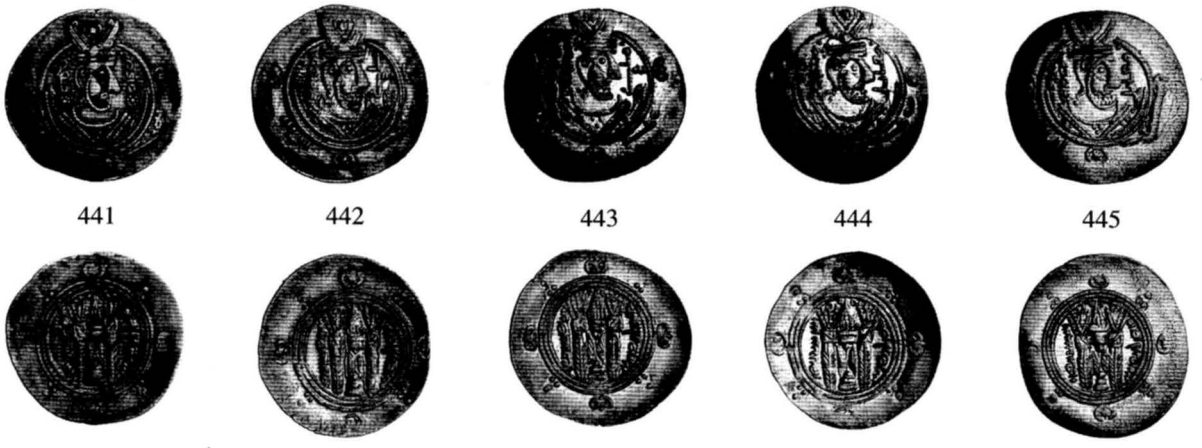
451 AR 5h 1.78g – Two stars; worn [Shamma 7653].

452 AR 4h 2.01g – Two stars [Shamma 7654].

453 AR 2h 1.64g – Two stars [Shamma 7655].

454 AR 8h 1.89g – [Shamma 7656].

455 AR 11h 1.95g – [Shamma 7657].



441 442 443 444 445

446 447 448 449 450

451 452 453 454 455

456 AR 3h 1.92g – Two pellets [Shamma 7746].

457 AR 3h 2.37g – Date partly flat [Shamma 7747].

458 AR 3h 2.11g – Two pellets [Shamma 7761].

459 AR 12h 1.96g – [Shamma 7762].

460 AR 3h 1.53g – Two stars; clipped [Shamma 7763].

461 AR 5h 2.04g – [Shamma 7764].

462 AR 3h 1.83g – [Shamma 7766].

463 AR 11h 1.93g – Large pellet after date [gift, J.M. Stopford, 1960].

Ibrāhīm

OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *ibrāhīm* (ابرهيم). Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: Star left, date CHYLST (sic), standard margin.

PYE 140

464 AR 3h 1.80g – Worn, small chip missing [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1993, ex Album, list 93, no. 168].

ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜArīf

OBV: E0, B14, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *ᶜabd allāh* (عبد الله). Margin: — / APD / NWKW / —. REV: Two stars, date CHYLST (sic), standard margin.

PYE 140

465 AR 4h 1.81g – Large die cut at 1h in obverse margin [bought at Isfahan, 1956].

OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name as last. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: As last, but star left and date AYWCYHLST (weak on this specimen).

PYE 141

466 AR 9h 1.98g – Weakly struck [Shamma 7745].

OBV: As last, but margin: — / APD / *ibn ᶜarīf* / — (بن عريف). REV: Two stars, date AYWKCYHLST (sic), standard margin.

PYE 141

467 AR 9h 2.29g – Worn and scraped [Shamma 7640].

Ibrāhīm

OBV: E0, B1, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *ibrāhīm* as on no. 464. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: Two stars, date AYWKCHYLST, standard margin.

PYE 141

468 AR 12h 1.92g – Minor die damage after NYWKW [Shamma 7759].

Ḥarashī

OBV: E0, B15, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *ḥarashī* (حرشي), pellet below. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. REV: Probably two stars, date as noted, standard margin.

PYE 151

469 AR 2h 1.58g – Date probably (AYW)PCAST (first portion obscured by weak striking) [Shamma 7643].

470 AR 9h 1.87g – Date clearly AWYKPCAST without N in PNCA [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1993, = Album, list 93, no. 164].

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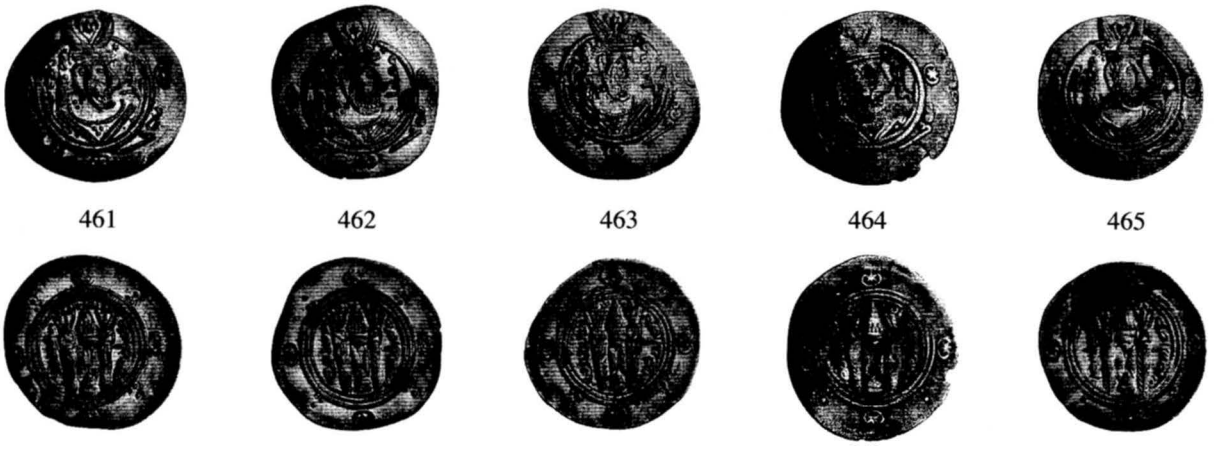

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466 467 468 469 470

ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E0, B15, no crescent, stars at crown. Name: *ᶜabd allāh*, large pellet below. Margin: — / APD / NYWKW / —. Rev: Two stars, date AWYKPCAST (sic), standard margin.

PYE 151

471 AR 8h 1.52g – Much corrosion [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1993, = Album, list 93, no. 169.].

WYH (Bihqubādh)

Khusraw type with bism allāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYCSYH. Margin presumably plain.

YE 33 (began 7 Rabīᶜ I 44)

472 AR 3h 2.06g – Heavily clipped [Shamma 7615].

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWBYTALA / Y ZAYATAN. Margin: YZAN (as monogram) / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTWYST. Margin plain.

PYE 27 (began 8 Shaᶜbān 58)

473 AR 12h 2.62g – Large die break in H of mint name; clipped [Shamma 7567].

WYHC (Arrajān)

Khusraw type with lillāh

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *lillāh* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date SYCWYST, mint misspelled as WYAHC. Margin plain.

YE? 23

474 AR 4h 2.98g – Clipped [Shamma 7789].

ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbayd Allāh

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: AWMR Y / AWBYTALAAN. Margin: — / (pellet) *lillāh al-ḥamd* (four pellets) / (pellet) — / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST, one pellet before and one after mint. Single pellets left and right of altar base. Margin plain.

AH 67

475 AR 9h 4.03g – [Shamma 7682].

As LAST, but star right and date HŠTŠST.

AH 68

476 AR 3h 3.60g – Clipped [Shamma 7596].

477 AR 3h 3.80g – Same dies; graffiti in reverse margin [Shamma 7729].

478 AR 3h 2.62g – Same obverse die; clipped [purchase, M. Mukhtarzadeh, 1967].

As LAST, but pellet in ObQ2 replaced by Pahlavi AN, and date AYWHFTAT. No pellets alongside altar base.

AH 71

479 AR 3h 3.85g – [Shamma 7681].

Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh

Obv: E1, B6, no crescent, standard crown. Name: HALYD Y / APDWLAAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / HA — / —. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date consisting of Pahlavi numeral '3' followed by HFTAT, one pellet before and one after mint. Margin plain.

AH 73

480 AR 3h 3.88g – [Shamma 7448].

WYŠ or NYŠ (unlocated)

Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: MWCAP Y / ZWBYRAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh* (four pellets) / *muṣᶜab* / — (مصعب). Rev: Star left, hands RR, date HFTŠST. Margin plain.

AH 67

481 AR 2h 2.90g – Clipped [Shamma 7699].

YZ (Yazd)

Khusraw type, probably with bism allāh rabbī

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: AWSRWY. Margin: — / *bism allāh* / (*rabbī*?) / (...). Rev: Star right, hands LR, date probably HFTCYH but carelessly engraved. Margin presumably plain.

AH 47?

482 AR 3h 2.39g – Heavily clipped [exchange, P. Proschowsky, 1966].

Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān

Obv: E0, B0, no crescent, standard crown. Name: ZYYAT / Y ABWSWPAN. Margin: — / *bism allāh rabbī* / — / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date AYWPNCA; mint appears recut, perhaps from šy. Margin plain.

AH 51

483 AR 9h 3.16g – Clipped, graffiti in ObQ1; same reverse die as Walker 65 [Shamma 7463].

Obv: Probably as last, but very worn, though margin is probably — / *bism allāh* / *rabbī* / —. Rev: Star left, hands LR, date DWPNCA. Margin: Pellet at 7h.

AH 52

484 AR 9h 2.69g – Clipped and very worn [Shamma 7819].

471 472 473 474 475

476 477 478 479 480

481 482 483 484

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

Obv: E1, B4, with crescent, standard crown. Name: APDWLA / Y ZWBYRAN. Margin: — HŠ / *bism allāh* (triplet) / (triplet) — M (inverted) (two pellets) / —. Rev: Star left, hands RR, date NWŠST. Margin plain.

AH 69

485 AR 3h 3.91g – Hands RR; outer pellets at all four reverse s/c [Shamma 7425].

As last, but obverse margin — HŠ / bism allāh (2 pellets) / — m (inverted) (2 pellets) / —; hands as noted, no outer pellets on reverse.

AH 69

486 AR 6h 3.78g – Hands RR [Shamma 7420].

487 AR 3h 4.04g – Hands LL; different dies [Shamma 7421].

As last, but hands LL.

The following five coins are all from the same pair of dies, and appear by style and fabric to be eastern imitations.

AH 69

488 AR 3h 3.85g – Lightly corroded [Shamma 7423].

489 AR 3h 3.83g – [Shamma 7424].

490 AR 10h 3.83g – [Shamma 7426].

491 AR 12h 3.74g – [Shamma 7422].

492 AR 4h 3.86g – [Shamma 7619].

al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf

Obv: E1, B1, no crescent, standard crown. Name, in Arabic: *al-ḥajjāj / bin yūsuf*. Margin: — / (pellet) *bism allāh* / MNSWR / —. Rev: Star left, hands EE, date AYWKHŠTAT. Margin plain.

AH 81

493 AR 9h 3.81g – Worn [Shamma 7440].

Without mint
(uncertain location in Ādharbāyjān)

Muḥammad

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: MAMT. Margin: — / *wāf* / — / — (واف). Beardless bust, no turrets in crown. Rev: Star left, pellet in crescent at right, attitude of hands uncertain (due to ghosting), mint name šy, "date" ARBA ("4"); pellets flanking altar base. Margin plain. Type derived from second issue of Khusraw II, used during his years 2 through 11. The mint and date signature are inauthentic.

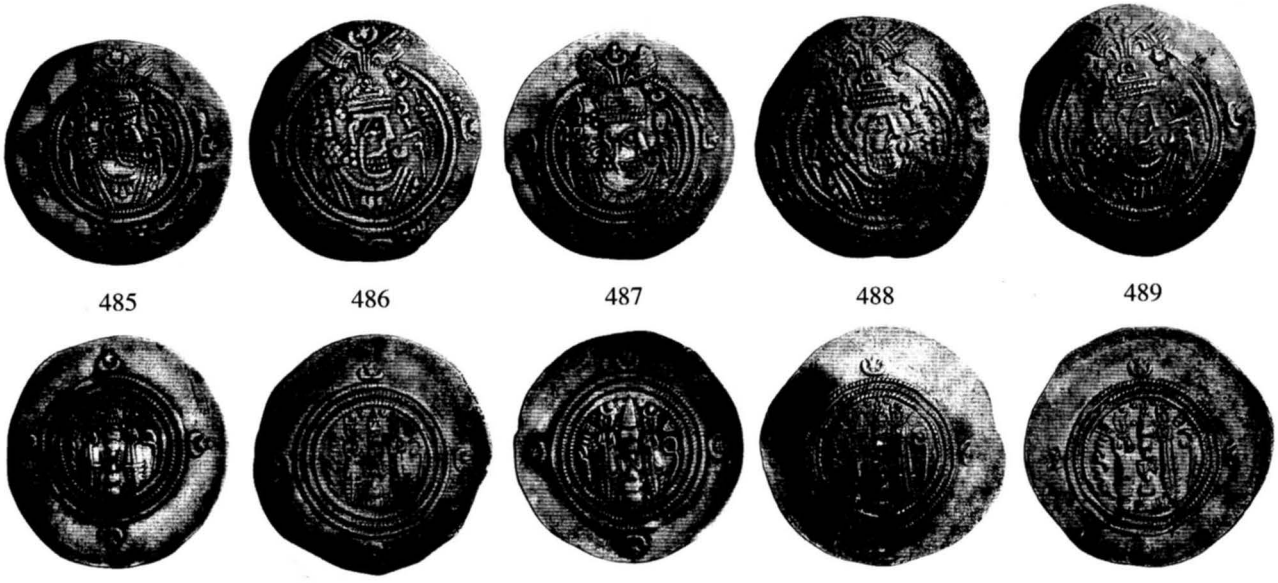
no date

494* AR 3h 3.13g – [Shamma 7661].

Obv: E0, B0, with crescent, standard crown. Name: MAMT. Margin: — / *muḥammad* / — / —. Beardless bust, no turrets in crown. Rev: Star left, hands EE, mint and date vestigial and meaningless, pellets flanking altar base just below the ribbons. Margin plain.

no date

495* AR 4h 3.41g – Possibly clipped [Shamma 7695].



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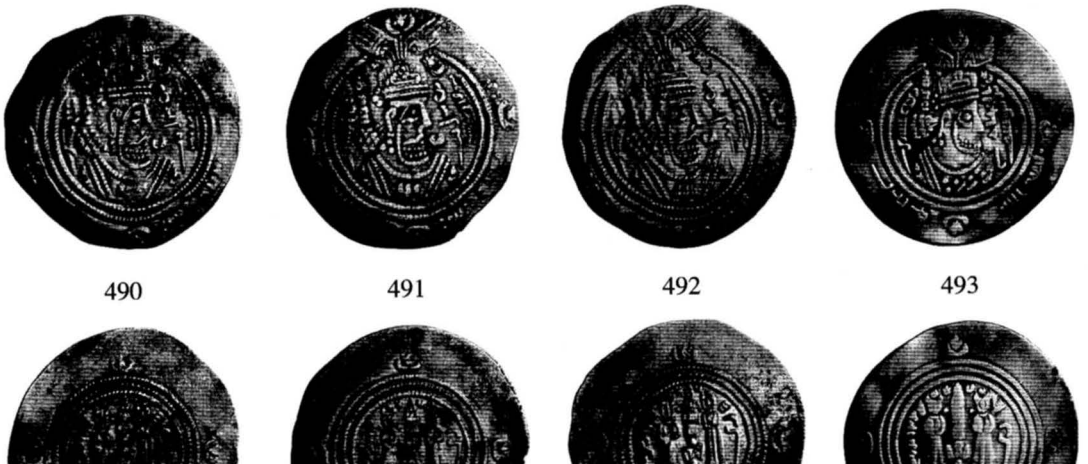

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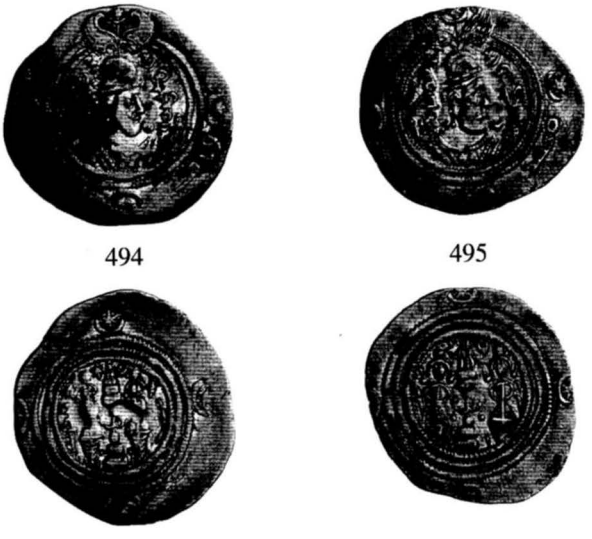


494 495

COPPER COINAGE

Ardashīr Khurra

Farrukhzād

OBV: Generally as type III drachms of Khusraw II, but three turrets on crown. E0 or E1, B6, large pellet to the upper right of AFZWT. To right of bust, FRAWZAT. Margin: — / — (triplet) / (triplet) — / —. REV: *Senmurv* left; around, APAT ARTŠAT GDH; all within a double circle. Margin: Usual four s/c, no additional symbols or legends.

ND

496 AE ±7h 0.79g – Gyselen 2.5 (this specimen). Some light corrosion [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1990].

Bīshāpūr

Āzād type

OBV: Large bust r., small bust l., star above left bust (derived from Byzantine solidus of Heraclius and son); to right, ACAD, to left, GDH AFZWT. REV: Man-headed bull r., wearing the crown of Khusraw II; in front, Pahlavi letter P followed by a star; to upper left, only partially visible on this specimen, APA(T BYŠA)PHR followed by a triplet of pellets.

ND

497 AE 8h 1.01g – Gyselen 8.9 (this specimen); very worn [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1990 = Album, list 67, no. 35].

Dārāy type

OBV: Facing bearded bust, with B1. To left, pelleted annulet surmounted by a second, plain, annulet; to right, pelleted annulet. To far right, DARA(Y), to left, GDH AFZWT. REV: As last, but legend, APAT BYŠYPWN (sic). Left stroke of T of APAT omitted.

ND

498 AE 3h 0.95g – Gyselen 7.6 (this specimen); worn reverse [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1990].

499 AE 12h 1.04g – Similar, but plain annulet above left pelleted annulet omitted. Countermarked in Arabic كوسط (*k.w.s.ṭ*), of unknown meaning. Gyselen 7.5 (this specimen) [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1990].

Afzāy type

OBV: Janiform bust with winged crown, crescent to left and right, each surmounted by a pelleted annulet; to right, AFZAY, to left, GDH. Breast ornament probably B1 but not clear. REV: As last, but legend, APAT BYŠAPHR (somewhat malformed).

ND

500 AE 5h 1.22g – Gyselen 6.3 (this specimen) [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1990].

501 AE 10h 1.08g – Similar, but countermarked *rāj* (راج). Gyselen 6.7 (this specimen) [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1990].

Dārābjird

Anonymous

OBV: Generally as the standard Arab-Sasanian drachm obverse, but with GDH behind bust and AFZWT in front. Standard Dārābjird margin. REV: Fire-altar in centre; to right DA, to left HFTŠST. Margin: (two pellets) / AFZWT / *baraka* / — (برکة).

year 68 (undetermined era)

502* AE 3h 2.27g – Same reverse die; worn, especially the obverse. Gyselen 10b.2 (this specimen) [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1993, = Album, list 93, no. 157].

Sūs

"Dīwān" type

OBV: Crude Sasanian bust left, with Khusraw II crown; to left, GDH (DATYH), to right, in two lines (beginning in inner line), DYWAN / AFZWN. Triplet of pellets to lower right of bust. REV: Four-line inscription: (....) / (...) STAN / (š)wš / RWBAK; no trace of an outer border.

ND

503 AE 11h 2.27g – Gyselen 37.3 (this specimen) [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1993, = Album, list 93, no. 158].

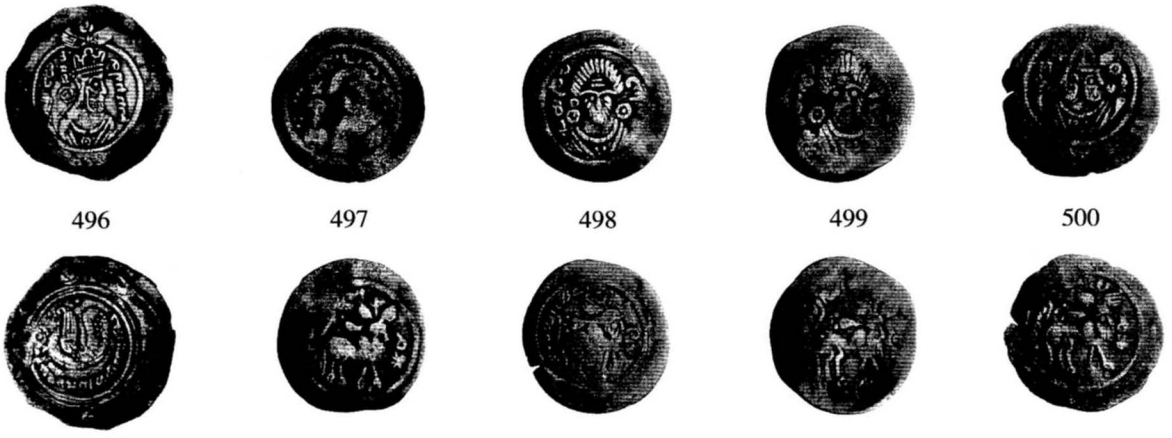
Ṭabaristān

Anonymous

OBV: Sasanian style bust right with wingless crown; behind, GDH followed by a star and crescent; in front, AFZWT. REV: In two horizontal lines, HŠTSYST / TPWRSTAN (the first line can also be read as HŠTŠST); between the lines, two stars; above, missing; below, a triplet of pellets.

year 138 (or 68) (probably PYE)

504* AE 10h 1.51g – Gyselen 47a.2 (this specimen), but date incorrectly read as 89 [bequest, A.W. Pullan, 1993, = Album, list 93, no. 159].



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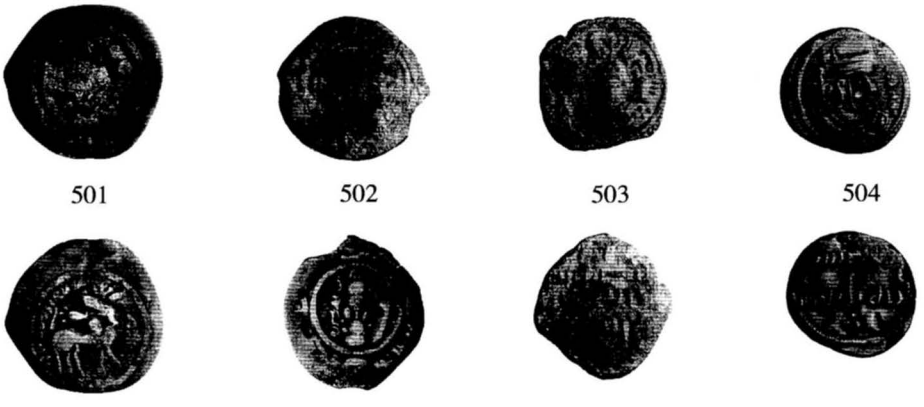

501 502 503 504

Pseudo-Byzantine Coinage

Type B

without mint

Obv: Three standing figures holding globus crucigers, central figure usually larger and sometimes bearded. No legend. Rev: Capital **M** with cross above and "officina" symbol, usually Γ, below. To left, downwards ANNO, to right, downwards XYII (year 17). In exergue: KYΠP. (Copies year 17 folles of Heraclius, Cyprus, MIB-198). The two examples below are of large module with only slightly blundered legends. They could possibly be irregular Byzantine coins dating from before the Arab Conquest, but the existence of very similar coins with an obverse copying Constans II (no. 528 below) strongly suggests a post-conquest date. MIB Heraclius X45 is similar to these two examples.

505 AE 12h 4.41g – Globus crucigers only indicated schematically [gift, H. Amedroz, 1897].

506 AE 5h 4.70g – Globus crucigers replaced by long crosses. Mint name heavily blundered [gift, H. Amedroz, 1897].

Type C

without mint

Obv: Two standing figures; left hand figure in military dress, holding long cross; right hand figure holding globus cruciger; no legend. Rev: Cursive **m**, with cross above, and heavily blundered legends. This is a variant of the more usual type with has a capital **M** reverse, as on the prototype, MIB-164 of Heraclius.

507 AE 4h 2.89g – Rev: .....N to left, OH..... in exergue [gift, T. Goodwin, 2000].

Type E

without mint

Obv: Emperor standing, facing, usually beardless, holding long cross and globus cruciger; blundered legend around, sometimes approximating to the ENTOUTO NIKA of the prototype. Rev: Cursive **m** with cross above and blundered legends either side, sometimes approximating to one of the legends of the prototype, most commonly ANA–NEO. The exergue sometimes contains a blundered version of the year and "officina" symbols of the prototype, and sometimes an anomalous "mint name". Based on the Class 1 to 4 Constantinople folles of Constans II (MIB-162 ff.).

508 AE 6h 1.83g – Obv: No legends visible. Rev: NN partially visible to left and A, with dots either side, in exergue; remaining letters unclear [Bodleian].

509 AE 6h 3.66g – Obv: Emperor apparently bearded; blundered legend around: IITIIOΛT... Rev: ANT to left, ΛЄO to right, I.IΠ in exergue, ellipse to right of cross. This coin is unusual in that it reproduces almost all the features of the Constans II prototype, albeit with heavily blundered legends. This includes even the year and officina in blundered form [Ashmolean, source unknown].

510 AE 6h 4.13g – Obv: Blundered ENTOUTO NIKA around. Rev: Blundered ANA-NEO either side of **m**, ١٠٠٠ in exergue. Neat style which again reproduces most features of the prototype, although in this case several elements are transposed or reversed [Ashmolean, source unknown].

511 AE 6h 2.55g – Obv: ١٢A to left, COΔ to right. Rev: N... to left, X to left of cross; neat style, but obverse legends bear no resemblance to those of the prototype (see Goodwin 1993a, no. 9, for a better specimen from the same dies) [bequest, Evans, 1941].

512 AE 2h 3.45g – Obv: Crescent and dot either side of head; blundered ENTOUTO NIKA around. Rev: NN to left, A/ to right, OMC in exergue. Neat style, but further from the Byzantine prototype than the previous examples [purchase, Münzen und Medaillen, 1964].

513 AE 6h 2.64g – Obv: ᴗ to right of crown; cruder style than previous examples. Rev: AN..... to right, other details unclear. Countermark appears to be طيب (*ṭayyib*) [exchange, 1969, ex A.P. di Cesnola].

514 AE 6h 3.20g – Obv: ...OTO.... around. Rev: NΘA partially visible to right, other details unclear. Neat style with full blundered legends partly cut off by small flan [gift, Douce, around 1834].

515 AE 4h 4.81g – Obv: Blundered ENTOUTO NIKA around. Rev: OΦ.. to left, NЄN to right, presumably copying the Class 2 folles of Constans II with reverse legends OΦA ANA-NEOS (MIB-163). Neat style [purchase, Sotheby, 1976].

516 AE 2h 3.47g – Obv: Illegible blundered legend to left; double-struck. Rev: A.... to left, AOC to right [purchase, Sotheby, 1976].

The following six coins were collected by J.L. Starkey whilst excavating at Lachish (*Tell el Duweir*) and published by Metcalf in 1964. They exhibit characteristics of coins from the southern part of Bilād al-Shām, i.e., crude style, occasional extra decorative elements, and the reuse of quartered flans of old Byzantine folles.

517 AE 3h 4.88g – Obv: Slight traces of legends. Rev: ⅄ T to left, ΛЄ/ to right, short wavy lines either side of cross; holed (Metcalf 1964, no. 64, this coin).

518 AE 5h 3.65g – Rev: **m** retrograde, AHH to left, N V o to right, o∞ in exergue, short wavy line to right of cross (Metcalf 1964, no. 67, but illustrated as no. 61 on plate 3).

519 AE 4h 1.52g – Obv: Heavily blundered legend around. Rev: HN to left, Λ.... to right, crescent and circle either side of cross (Metcalf 1964, no. 62).

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520 AE 5h 2.96g – Obv: Traces of legend to left. Rev: NN to left, NA to right. This coin has pellets between uprights of **m** similar to those found on some mintless Umayyad Imperial Image coins (e.g., no. 601), which may indicate a later date than the majority of Pseudo-Byzantine coins. Struck on one third of the flan of an earlier coin, prabably a Byzantine follis (Metcalf 1964, no. 60).

521 AE 5h 2.75g – Obv: Traces of legend to right. Rev: Retrograde **m**, ⁄ III to left, ⁄ ⁄ ⁄ to right, ...O... in exergue. Presumably copies the reverse of the Class 3 folles (MIB-164) of Constans II which have a date III to the left of the **m**. Struck on the quartered flan of an earlier coin, probably a Byzantine follis (Metcalf 1964, no. 61, but illustrated as no. 62 on plate 3).

522 AE 6h 2.56g – No legends visible; struck on one third of the flan of an earlier coin, probably a Byzantine follis (Metcalf 1964, no. 73).

523 AE 6h 1.65g – Obv: Slight traces of legend to lower left. Rev: A.... to left, ...ϵN in exergue. Circle to left and right(?) of cross [Shamma 1069].

524 AE 12h 3.81g – Obv: Unusual style with large head, T with dot above to lower left. NSPP... to right (from undertype?). Rev: ϵ ο ι ᴖ to right. No sign of exergual line. This coin could be a later imitation as the "T" on the obverse may derive from the coins of Damascus [purchase, Sotheby 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

525 AE 6h 3.99g – Obv: Heavily blundered ENTOUTO NIKA around. Rev: ...Φ... to left, ᵛ И N ᵲ to right, N ϰ И in exergue [purchase, Sotheby 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

Type F

without mint

As Type E, but emperor usually bearded and with capital **M** on reverse.

526 AE 6h 3.55g – Obv: Details unclear. Rev: NϵOY to right, ...X in exergue. Countermarked B on the obverse [gift, C. Warren, 1875].

527 AE 6h 4.13g – Obv: No globus, signs of undertype. There may possibly be traces of a second figure to the right, in which case this should be Type C. Rev: Remains of heavily blundered legend with no obvious prototype. "Officina" symbol ϵ (reversed) [purchased, Sotheby 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

Type G

without mint

Obv: Beardless, facing imperial bust holding globus cruciger. Rev: Capital **M** with cross above. The prototype is presumably a year 3 follis of Constans II (MIB-166), but the reverse legends are sometimes based on those of Heraclius.

528 AE 6h 5.87g – Obv: Traces of blundered legend around. Rev: ANO to left, XYII (year 17) to right, KAP in exergue, "officina" Γ. This coin is of unusually large module for this type, and the reverse is a fairly close copy of a Cyprus follis of Heraclius (MIB-198). It may have been produced in the same "mint" as nos. 505 and 506 above. Same dies as Waage no. 2254 [purcased, Monetarium Zürich, Feb. 1989, no. 119].

529 AE 6h 3.48g – Obv: Star and crescent either side of head. Rev: A И И to left, XϵII to right, officina A. This is one of a distinctive series of coins with a star and crescent either side of the bust (see the description of Type G in the Introduction). [gift, H. Amedroz, 1897].

Type I

without mint

Obv: Beardless imperial bust holding globus cruciger. Enigmatic legend either side of head, probably "nonsense Arabic", but could be Arabic, Pahlavi or Syriac in origin. Rev: Capital **M** with monogram above and standing figures either side holding globus crucigers. Blundered SCL in exergue. The prototype is an undated follis of Sicily (MIB-104) from the early part of the reign of Constantine IV (668-685).

530 AE 11h 3.22g – Obv: ٢٧٥ to left and عادر to right [purchase, A.H. Baldwin, 1987].

Umayyad Imperial Image Coinage
Ḥimṣ (Emesa)

Obv: Type VI standing emperor. To left, downwards, بسم الله. To right, upwards, KAΛON, often blundered. Rev: Capital **M** with monogram above and "officina" symbol Δ below, EMH-CIC either side, طيب (*tayyib*) in exergue. (Walker 27ff; Ilisch 1980, type 2.2).

531 AE 12h 2.65g – Star to either side of monogram [Thorburn, 1966].

532 AE 6h 2.60g – [purchase, Sotheby, 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

533 AE 6h 3.62g – Obverse double struck. Star and crescent to left and right of monogram on reverse [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

534 AE 6h 5.38g – Monogram reversed with crescent and star to left and right. Officina appears to be A [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

535 AE 2h 3.44g – Star and crescent to left and right of monogram [Shamma 1070].

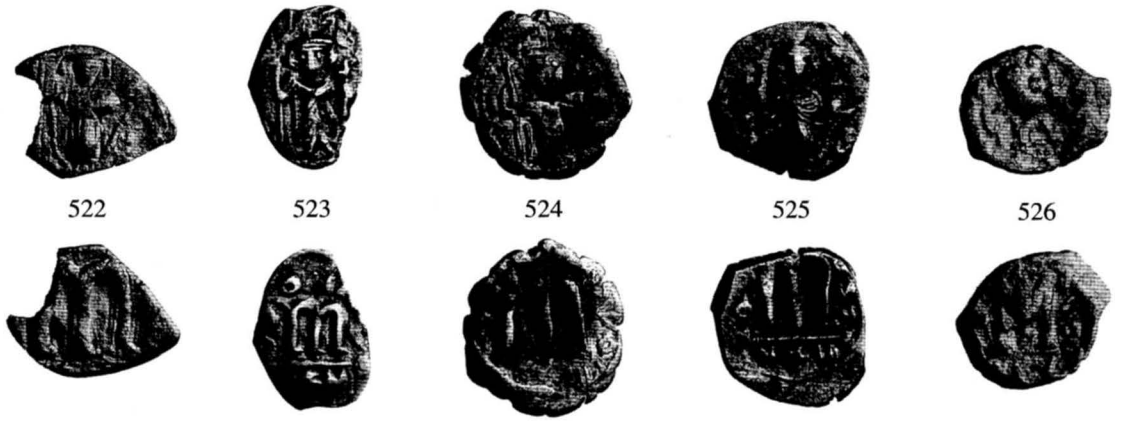
536 AE 6h 4.03g – Star to left of monogram [Shamma 1071].

537 AE 12h 5.82g – Rev: Greek legends blundered and partially reversed. Large flan and signs of undertype [Shamma 1072].

Obv: Type VII imperial bust. To left, downwards KAΛON. To right, downwards, بحمص (*bi-ḥimṣ*). Sometimes with symbols to right of the crown and after *bi-ḥimṣ*. Rev: Cursive **m**, with EMI-CIC either side. Above, a star with birds-eye either side; in exergue, طيب (*tayyib*) (Walker 57ff., Ilisch type 3; see also Oddy 1987).

538 AE 6h 4.94g – Birds-eye after *bi-ḥimṣ*. This coin is struck from one of two reverse dies with an additional symbol below *ṭayyib*, comprising a dumb-bell with a dot either side (Oddy 1987, no. 11) [Shamma 1082].

539 AE 5h 3.89g – Wavy line to right of crown and star after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Bodleian].



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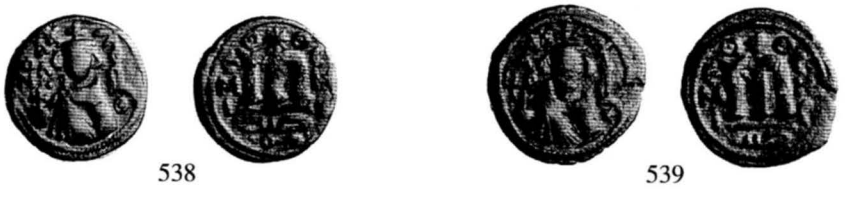

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540 AE 7h 3.91g – [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

541 AE 8h 3.39g – Star after *bi-ḥimṣ*; traces of undertype on reverse [Shamma 1078].

542 AE 6h 3.92g – Star after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Shamma 1084].

As last, but plain circle either side of star on reverse.

543 AE 6h 3.39g – Star(?) after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Bodleian].

544 AE 6h 4.61g – Star after *bi-ḥimṣ* [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

545 AE 6h 3.11g – Star after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Ashmolean, source unknown].

546 AE 6h 3.81g – Dot after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Bodleian].

547 AE 6h 3.76g – Short wavy line to right of crown; star after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Shamma 1086].

As last, but short wavy line on either side of star on reverse.

548 AE 4h 4.62g – Star below *bi-ḥimṣ* [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

549 AE 6h 3.99g – [Thorburn 1966].

550 AE 6h 3.86g – Die flaw on reverse to lower left of **m**? [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

551 AE 6h 3.84g – [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

552 AE 6h 3.54g – [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

553 AE 7h 3.86g – Short wavy line to right of crown; signs of undertype [purchase, Sotheby 14.7.76, ex lot 193].

554 AE 7h 3.52g – Dot after *bi-ḥimṣ* [Shamma 1080].

Irregular Variants: The following four coins are generally similar to the previous examples, but are of crude style with blundered legends. They may be contemporary forgeries or coins produced during a period of emergency minting. However, the former seems more likely as there seems to be no die linking to the main series. Unless otherwise indicated, these coins have short wavy lines on either side of the reverse star.

555 AE 12h 3.56g – Irregular; obverse Greek legend to left heavily blundered. Dot after *bi-ḥimṣ*? Dots on either side of star on reverse [Shamma 1076].

556 AE 2h 2.84g – Irregular; obverse Greek legend slightly blundered. Reverse Greek legends blundered; small dots within the uprights of the **m** on the reverse [gift, T. Goodwin, 1999].

557 AE 6h 3.31g – Irregular; obverse Greek legend blundered, crude lettering [Shamma 1073].

558 AE 6h 5.15g – Probably irregular. Unusual rather crude style, but legends correctly written [Shamma 1077].

Ṭarṭūs (Antarados)

Obv: Type VII Imperial Bust, similar to the preceding coins of Ḥimṣ, but without the globus cruciger. To left, downwards, بطردوس (*bi-ṭardūs*). To right, downwards, KAΛ(Ω)N. Rev: Capital **M**, ANT-APϒ either side. Above, cross with crescent and star either side, below "officina" symbol Δ, with طيب (ṭayyib) in exergue (Walker 55).

559 AE 3h 4.24g – [Shamma 1205].

Dimashq (Damascus)

Obv: Type VI Standing Emperor holding long cross and globus cruciger. To left, bird on **T**, to right, downwards, ΛEO. Rev: Capital **M** with monogram above and "officina" symbol, usually comprising a crescent, sometimes with a horizontal line below, ANO-XYII (frozen year 17) either side, with ΔAM in exergue, sometimes followed by an oblique stroke (Walker 7ff.) (variety a1).

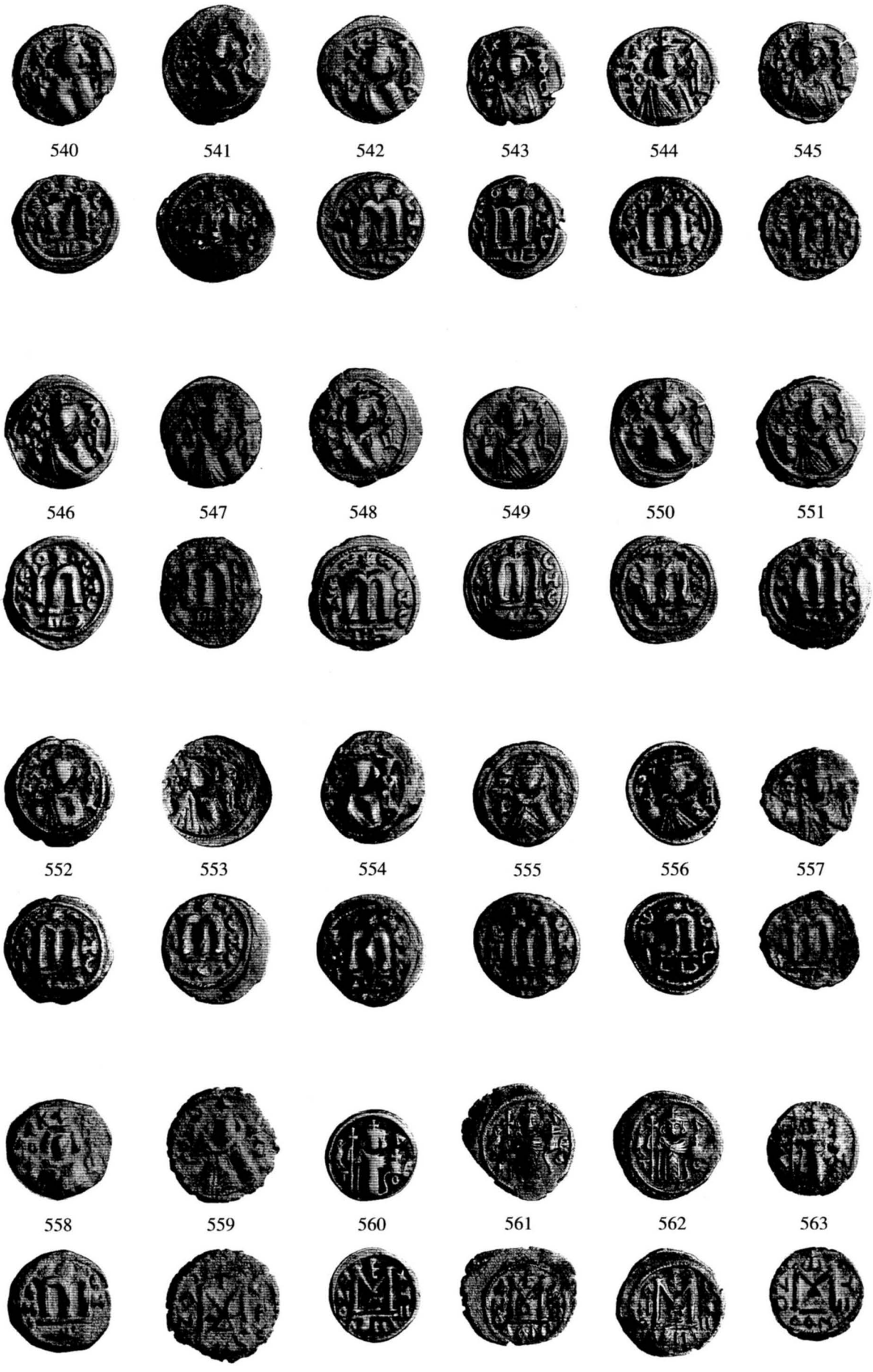
560 AE 6h 3.43g – Die duplicate with no. 562 [Bodleian].

561 AE 4h 3.18g – [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

562 AE 6h 3.87g – Die duplicate with no. 560 [Shamma 1113].

Obv: Type VI Standing Emperor holding long cross and globus cruciger. To left, downwards KAΛ; to right, upwards, ON, i.e., as on some coins from Ḥimṣ (Ilisch 1980, type 2.2), but of very different style. Rev: Generally as last (This rare variety, which may well be irregular, appears to be unpublished; see footnote 33).

563 AE 2h 2.82g – Obv: Star above globus cruciger. Rev: "date" blundered, "officina" Δ [Shamma 1112].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OBV: Type VI Standing Emperor often of unusual style. To left, **T**. REV: Capital **M** with monogram above and "officina" symbol below. Around from 8h, جاز هذا دمشق وفية (*jāza hādhā dimashq wāfiya*), "current this (fals in) Damascus, full weight," always blundered. (Walker 26, ANS.1, ANS.2 and ANS.3; see also Goodwin 1998) (type c3).

564 AE 12h 4.38g – OBV: O to right; same die as Walker ANS.3. REV: Star "officina" symbol [Shamma 1114].

565 AE 12h 4.30g – OBV: Details obscure, but the figure seems to have stylised long hair, as in some Standing Caliph coins. REV: Details unclear, but the word visible to the right of the **M** is probably a blundered *dimashq*. Traces of undertype visible on reverse; possibly irregular [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

OBV: Type VI Standing Emperor holding long cross and globus cruciger. To left, bird on **T**, and to right, clockwise from 1h, ΔAMACKOC. REV: Capital **M** with monogram above and "officina" symbol below. To left, upwards, جائز (*jā'iz*), to right, downwards, ضرب (*ḍarb*), and in exergue, the mint name دمشق, "struck (in) Damascus, current" (type b2).

566 AE 6h 5.00g – Greek legend on obverse slightly blundered [Shamma 1111].

567 AE 5h 4.07g – [purchase, Sabin Galleries, 1960].

568 AE 7h 4.61g – Obverse legends unclear [Shamma 1115].

OBV: As last, but ΛEO to right downwards. REV: As last (type a2).

569 AE 9h 4.46g – OBV: Legend to right unclear. REV: Monogram appears to be replaced by a cross [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

570 AE 6h 3.87g – REV: *jā'iz* written downwards [Thorburn, 1966].

571 AE 5h 3.74g – OBV: HO∈ (sic) to right. REV: Cross above, normal "officina" symbol replaced by short horizontal line, legends slightly blundered [Shamma 1116].

572 AE 5h 4.05g – OBV: Symbol on **T** not visible. REV: *jā'iz* downwards [Shamma 1117].

573 AE 9h 6.13g – OBV: No legends visible, unusual style. REV: Crude style with blundered legends. Possibly irregular [Shamma 1109].

OBV: Type IV Two Standing Imperial Figures holding cruciform sceptres; globus cruciger to right. REV: As last. (Walker 42) (type d2).

574 AE 6h 5.36g – Obverse die link with Baalbek no. 586 [Shamma 1105].

575 AE 3h 3.28g – REV: Monogram reversed and legends slightly blundered [Shamma 1106].

576 AE 10h 1.76g – REV: Legends blundered with *jā'iz* apparently downwards [Shamma 1107].

"Pseudo-Damascus" Mint

The following six coins belong to a group which is characterised by elaborate style and the introduction of extra stylistic elements, such as stars, crosses, etc., in the fields. Types and legends are usually, but not always, loosely based on those of Damascus, often including a blundered Damascus mint name. They were probably produced by a mint operating in the southeast region of Bilād al-Shām. The main reference is Milstein 1991.

577 AE 12h 3.37g – OBV: Type II Seated Emperor holding cruciform sceptre and globus cruciger, other detail unclear. REV: Capital **M** with ANO-XYII either side and M... in the exergue. Copies Walker 4 of Damascus [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

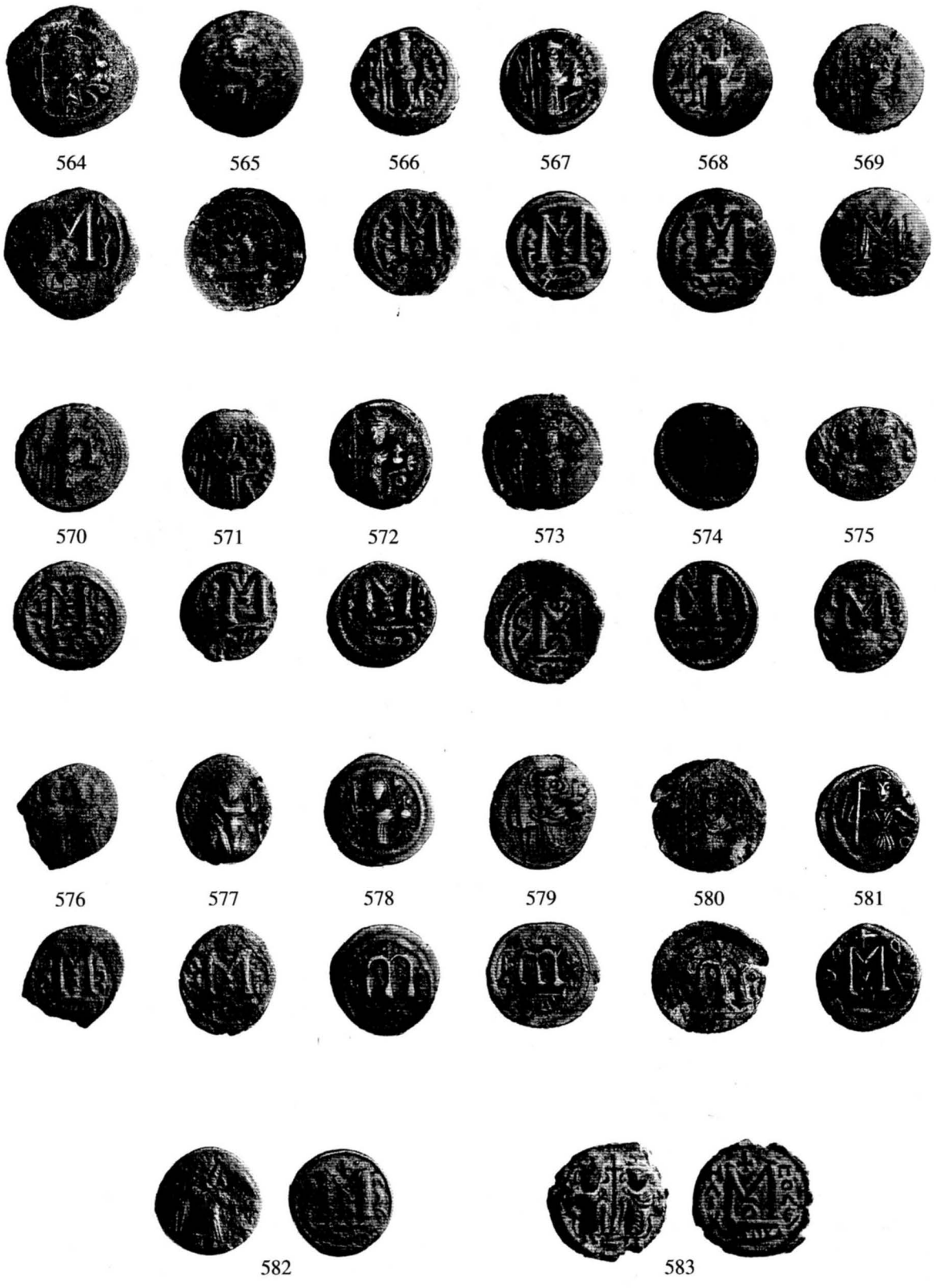
578 AE 3h 3.64g – OBV: Type VI Standing Emperor, star to right of head, ∈ below globus, ...NO to left. REV: Cursive **m** with birds-eyes between uprights, ANO-XYII either side, blundered Damascus mint name in exergue (Milstein 1991, no. 71, same dies) [purchase, E.H. Lee, 1955].

579 AE 3h 3.64g – OBV: Type VI Standing Emperor with large head and pointed beard. REV: retrograde cursive barred **m** with stars between uprights; heavily blundered version of ANO-XYII either side, with some elements transposed, and blundered Damascus mint name in exergue (Milstein 1991, no. 119, same obverse die) [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

580 AE 12h 3.25g – OBV: Type VI Standing Emperor with two dots and a short line to right of head. REV: Retrograde cursive **m** with stars between uprights, heavily blundered version of ANO-XYII either side, blundered Damascus mint name in exergue (Milstein 1991, no. 100, same dies) [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

581 AE 12h 4.13g – OBV: Type IX "hunting figure" wearing short waisted tunic and holding long cross, palm branch to left, four small dots to left of belt, with ΛEO to right. It is unclear whether or not the object in the upper right field represents a bird. REV: Capital **M** with heavily blundered Greek letters either side. "Officina" symbol V with retrograde N below. The style of this coin is very unusual and the reverse has no obvious prototype; it could be the product of a separate irregular mint (Walker Ox.1, this coin; Goussous 1996, no. 78, same dies) [gift, J. Barton, 1941, found on the beach at Haifa].

582 AE 6h 4.66g – OBV: Type IX "hunting figure" holding what is perhaps a long cross, with bird on arm. Rev: Capital **M** with cross above, "officina" crescent, with blundered Arabic legend around, perhaps *ḍarb dimashq jā'iz* (see Oddy 1991 for discussion of this type) [bequest, A.W. Pullan].



Baalbek (Heliopolis)

Obv: Type V Two Standing Imperial Figures both holding globus cruciger, cross on steps between. Rev: Capital **M** with cross above and "officina" crescent below.

ΗΛΙϒ-ΠΟΛΕ divided on either side, with Arabic بعلبك (Ba^{c}albakk) in exergue (Walker ANS.4).

583 AE 6h 4.47g – Rev: Short diagonal stroke in lower right field [Shamma 1000].

Obv: Type IV Two Standing Imperial Figures holding cruciform sceptres with globus to right and cross between heads; some coins omit the globus, cross or both. Rev: As last (Walker 35 ff.).

584 AE 6h 4.89g – Unusually for this mint the Arabic mint name is blundered [gift, Douce to Bodleian, 1834].

585 AE 6h 3.82g – Obv: No cross between heads. Rev: Greek mint name blundered [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

586 AE 6h 4.64g – Rev: Blundered Greek legend. Obverse die link with Dimashq no. 574 [gift, Pierrepont Barnard, ca.1931].

Ṭabariyya (Tiberias)

Obv: Type III Three Standing Imperial Figures holding globus crucigers. Rev: Capital **M** with monogram above and "officina" symbol, most commonly A, below. Around from 11h anticlockwise, TIBEPIAΔOC, and from 1h clockwise, طبرية (Walker 43 ff.) (variety 2).

587 AE 5h 6.03g – [Shamma 1199].

588 AE 1h 4.47g – Greek legend reads THBEPIAΔOC [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

589 AE 1h 3.76g – Obv: Globuses rendered schematically. Rev: Greek legend lacks final C [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

590 AE 9h 4.67g – Obv: Central figure bearded. Rev: "Officina" C, Greek legend lacks final C. Same dies as Walker 43 [Thorburn, 1966].

591 AE 6h 5.40g – Obv: Same die as cat. 590. Rev: "Officina" C [St. Johns College, J.G. Covernton collection].

Obv: Generally as last, but less detail and on smaller flan. Rev: Capital **M** with monogram above and "officina" symbol A below. To left, downwards, THB, to right downwards طبرية (*ṭabariyya*), and in exergue a word written as قطرى, read by Ilisch 1993 as *qaṭarī*, and by Qedar as *quṭra* (Ilisch 1993, nos. 286 and 287) (variety 7).

592 AE 8h 2.47g – Obv: Only slight vestiges of globus crucigers [Shamma 1200].

No mint name, but presumably Ṭabariyya

Obv: As last. Rev: As last, but legend from 1h is لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له (*lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu lā sharīk lahu*, "there is no deity but God, He is alone, He has no associates" (Walker J1; Ilisch 1993 no. 234) (variety 5).

593 AE 6h 3.00g – Only final part of reverse legend visible [gift, C. Warren].

Baysān (Scythopolis)

Obv: Type I Justin and Sophia, two seated figures on a double throne, holding cruciform sceptres, cross between heads; around, CKYΘO–ΠOΛHC, to left and right. Rev: Capital **M** with cross above and "officina" symbol A below, ANNO-YIIo on either side, NIK in exergue (Walker 1 ff.; see also Oddy 1994 and Amitai-Preiss etc. 1999).

594 AE 6h 5.33g – Obv: Mint name written CK+O-ΠOΛHC. Rev: The N's of ANNO retrograde. Reverse die match with Walker A1 [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

The "al-Wafā' Lillāh" mint

This group of coins was probably produced at a mint in the southern part of Bilād al-Shām. Obv: Type I Standing Emperor holding long cross and globus cruciger. Rev: Cursive **m** with cross above, blundered Greek legends either side, and in exergue الوفا لله (*al-wafā' lillāh*, "Loyalty to God") (Walker ANS.9; Ilisch 1993, nos. 513 ff.).

595 AE 10h 3.80g – Rev: Wavy lines between the uprights of the **m**. AHO to left, \NE to right [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

596 AE 6h 4.74g – Obv: \KEto right. Rev: Retrograde **m**, with elongated H to right, stroke to right of cross [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

597 AE 2h 3.88g – Obv: Traces of Arabic legend to left downwards, probably *al-wafā' lillāh* slightly blundered. Rev: Retrograde **m** with NO to right [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

598 AE 8h 3.81g – Rev: AO to left, vertical stroke to right [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

599 AE 3h 4.27g – Obv: Traces of legend to lower right. Rev: Retrograde **m** with pellets between uprights and stroke to left of cross. NO to left, traces of legend to right [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

600 AE 5h 3.61g – Obv: Bird to left, star to right of head and Є below globus. Rev: To left, ЄT (with retrograde Є); to right, H; الوفا لله blundered [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

601 AE 3h 4.83g – Rev: Retrograde **m** with pellets between the uprights, stroke to left of cross. ΛN (with retrograde N) to left, traces of legend to right [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

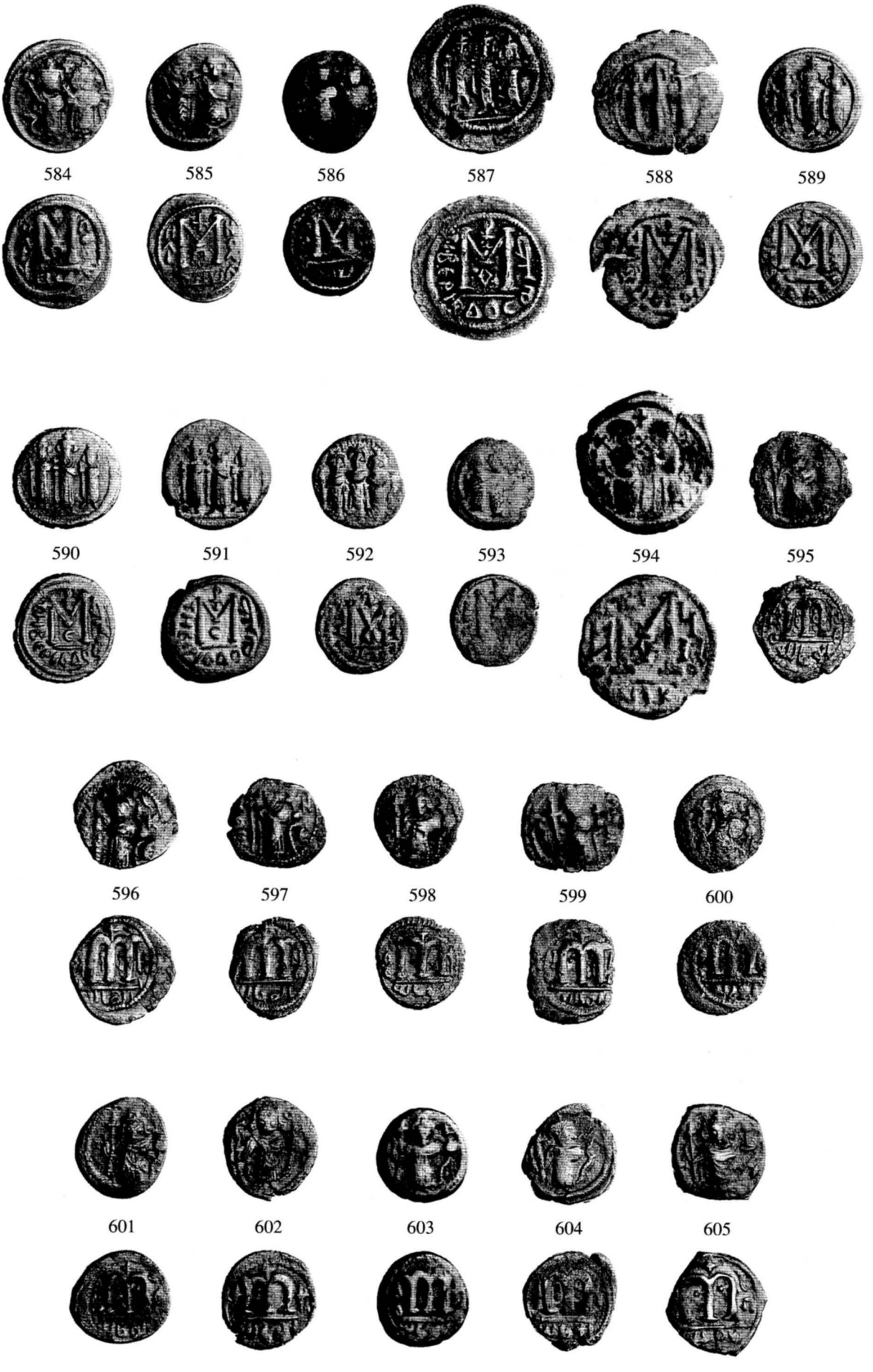
602 AE 11h 3.66g – Obv: Standing figure has long hair and moustache. Rev: Cross either side of **m** [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

603 AE 12h 4.31g – Rev: AO to left, cross to right [gift, J.G. Milne, 1928, ex B.G. Beckitt collection].

604 AE 10h 4.66g – Rev: Pellets between uprights of **m** and crosses either side [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

The following coin is generally similar in style and fabric, but lacks the legend الوفا لله.

605 AE 7h 4.00g – Obv: Star to lower right. Rev: Pellets between uprights of **m**. Same dies as Kirkbride 1947, pl. 24, nos. 8 and 9 [purchase, Sabin Galleries, 1960].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Mintless Gold Solidi

The following coin is a fairly close copy of a Constantinople solidus of Heraclius (MIB-44), but with the crossbars of the crosses removed. It may be an early official attempt to remove Christian imagery and produce a gold coinage for circulation within Bilād al-Shām, or it may possibly be a contemporary forgery (Walker 54 is similar, but further from the Byzantine prototype and also features the letters IB either side of the cross, which are found, reversed, on no. 607 below).

606 AV 6h 4.19g – Obv: Type III Three Standing Imperial Figures holding globus crucigers with only vestigial crosses. Crosses on crowns replaced by short vertical lines terminating in a pellet. Rev: Cross on steps with main crossbar removed, Heraclian monogram to left, I to right, VICTORIA AVGG A around, CONOB in exergue [Shamma 1].

Obv: Type III Three Standing Imperial Figures, with all traces of crosses removed. Rev: Transformed cross on four steps terminating in a small globe, B left and I right. Around, بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله (*bism allāh lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu muḥammad rasūl allāh*, "in the name of God, there is no deity but God, He is alone, Muhammad is the messenger of God") (same dies as Walker B.2 and Lavoix 1887, no. 26; see also Miles 1967)

607 AV 6h 4.40g – [Shamma 2].

Standing Caliph Coinage

Obv: Facing figure of caliph wearing long robes, right hand on pommel of sword, which hangs in its scabbard to the caliph's left. Girdle band hanging from waist or elbow to his right. Around, clockwise from 1h, لعبد الله عبد الملك امير المؤمنين (*liᶜabd allāh ᶜabd al-malik amīr al-mu'minīn*, "for the servant of God, ᶜAbd al-Malik, commander of the believers"). Rev: Transformed cross on steps with mint name to left or right. Around, clockwise from 1h, لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله (*lā ilāh illā allāh waḥdahu muḥammad rasūl allāh*, "there is no deity but God, He is alone, Muhammad is the messenger of God"). Variations indicated by mint or individual coin descriptions.

Ḥalab (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

Girdle band normally shown as a long loop. Transformed cross on four steps, with واف (*wāf*, "full value") to left, upwards, and mint name حلب to right, downwards (Walker 106 ff.)

608 AE 7h 3.29g – Rev: *wāf* blundered. Same dies as Walker 116 [Shamma 1062].

609 AE 6h 3.80g – Schematic figure with no girdle band [Shamma 1049].

610 AE 8h 3.18g – [Shamma 1057].

611 AE 6h 2.80g – [Shamma 1051].

612 AE 9h 2.34g – [Shamma 1053].

613 AE 12h 2.80g – Obv: Clear details of caliph's features and patterns on robe and scabbard. Rev: *wāf* replaced by eight-pointed star [Shamma 1049].

614 AE 6h 3.65g – Obv: Girdle band comprises two separate strands. Rev: Mint name could be written *ḥalab* or *bi-ḥalab*, unclear. Signs of undertype. [Shamma 1058].

As last, but بحلب (*bi-ḥalab*, "in Ḥalab") to left, upwards, and *wāf* to right, downwards.

615 AE 9h 3.35g – [Shamma 1022].

616 AE 8h 2.87g – [Shamma 1035].

617 AE 2h 3.12g – [Shamma 1036].

618 AE 6h 3.30g – [Shamma 1029].

619 AE 11h 1.95g – [Shamma 1030].

620 AE 12h 2.67g – Clear details of caliph's facial features [Shamma 1027].

621 AE 2h 2.72g – [Shamma 1028].

622 AE 6h 2.68g – [Shamma 1043].

623 AE 12h 1.46g – Obv: Girdle band shown as wavy line from elbow [Shamma 1044].

624 AE 6h 2.11g – Obv: Girdle band shown as wavy line from elbow; pattern of transverse lines on scabbard. Holed [Christ Church College].

As last, but *ḥalab* to left, upwards, and *wāf* to right, downwards.

625 AE 12h 3.40g – Obv: Crude style with very large loop from elbow [Shamma 1031].

As last, but *bi-ḥalab* to right, downwards, and direction of *wāf* unclear.

626 AE 2h 3.36g – Overstruck on a Class 1 to 4 Constans II follis (the reverse **m** of the undertype clearly visible under upper part of obverse) [purchase, Sotheby's, 14.7.76].

627 AE 8h 3.59g – [Shamma 1059].

The following 11 coins are on smaller flans, sometimes properly rounded and usually rather thicker than the previous examples. Otherwise as last.

628 AE 2h 2.96g – Obv: Pellet or small star in left field [St. Johns College, G. Covernton collection].

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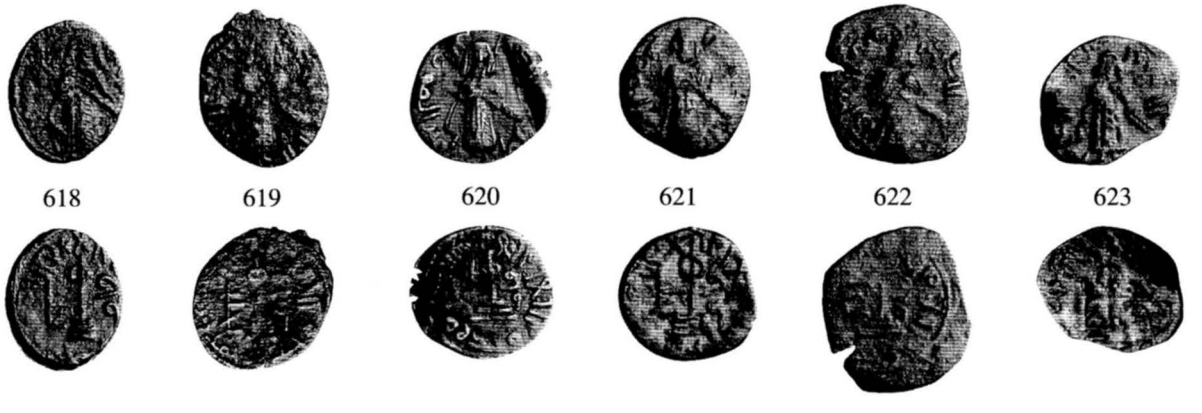

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As LAST, but with *bi-ḥalab* to left, upwards, and *wāf* to right, downwards.

629 AE 7h 3.69g – Crude figure of caliph [Christ Church College].

630 AE 12h 2.09g – [Christ Church College].

631 AE 6h 1.88g – Clear facial features; same dies as no. 632 [Shamma 1026].

632 AE 3h 2.27g – Same dies as no. 631 [Shamma 1033].

633 AE 11h 3.04g – [Shamma 1037].

634 AE 10h 4.48g – Thick flan [Shamma 1042].

635 AE 7h 3.14g – [Shamma 1040].

636 AE 6h 3.86g – REV: Mint name blundered and *wāf* replaced by star [Shamma 1063].

As LAST, but *ḥalab* to right, downwards, and *wāf* to left, also downwards; *wāf* blundered on both 637 and 638.

637 AE 6h 3.45g – [Shamma 1047].

638 AE 11h 3.33g – Girdle band shown as very thin loop; note sword pommel and vertical wavy line in detail of caliph's robes [Shamma 1054].

Sarmīn (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

Girdle band is normally shown as a long loop, as at Ḥalab. Transformed cross on four steps with mint name written either side: سر , *sar*, to right, downwards, and مين, *mīn*, retrograde to left, also downwards (Walker 123 ff.).

639 AE 6h 2.29g – REV: The *lām* of *rasūl* and the final *allāh* omitted from the *shahāda*. Same dies no. 646 [Shamma 1177].

640 AE 10h 2.77g – Obverse legend unclear, and *rasūl* omitted from reverse *shahāda*; same reverse die as no. 641 [Shamma 1180].

641 AE 9h 3.75g – No details of obverse legend visible; *rasūl* omitted from reverse *shahāda*; same reverse die as no. 640 [Shamma 1182].

642 AE 11h 3.36g – [Shamma 1184].

643 AE 3h 3.64g – Struck on small, thick square flan [Shamma 1187].

644 AE 12h 2.68g – [Shamma 1188].

645 AE 5h 3.33g – *Rasūl* omitted from reverse *shahāda* [Shamma 1189].

646 AE 6h 2.95g – Same dies as no. 639 [Shamma 1172].

647 AE 6h 3.73g – [Shamma 1173].

As LAST, but transformed cross on only three steps; second half of mint name written reasonably correctly and upwards, not retrograde.

648 AE 12h 3.61g – [Thorburn, 1966].

As LAST, but obverse legends to right, downwards, is خليفة الله, *khalīfat allāh*, and to left, downwards, امير الله (?), *amīr allāh*, the latter always heavily blundered. Transformed cross on four steps, and *mīn* retrograde as on nos. 639 ff.

649 AE 2h 3.55g – [Shamma 1178].

650 AE 8h 2.63g – [Shamma 1179].

651 AE 6h 2.88g – Only traces of obverse legend visible [Shamma 1186].

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647 648 649 650 651 652

652 AE 8h 4.76g – Unusual polygonal flan; details of obverse legend unclear [Shamma 1170].

653 AE 4h 2.97g – [Shamma 1171].

654 AE 12h 2.88g – [Christ Church College].

655 AE 6h 2.69g – Second part of mint name is retrograde and written so as to resemble a mirror image of the first part [Christ Church College].

Tanūkh (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

Girdle band normally shown as a long loop, as at Ḥalab. Transformed cross on four steps with mint name normally written بتنوخ, *bi-tanūkh*, but occasionally just تنوخ, *tanūkh*, upwards to left, with *wāf* to right, downwards. Less commonly with *bi-tanūkh* downwards to right and *wāf* upwards to left, as in the example here (Not in Walker, who read the same mint as queried *sarūj* on a post-reform coin, no. 884. See Goodwin 1996, no. 23).

656 AE 12h 2.67g – Signs of undertype [Shamma 1302].

Qinnasrīn (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

Girdle band normally shown as a long loop, as at Ḥalab. Transformed cross on three steps with mint name بقنسرين, *bi-qinnasrīn*, upwards to left and *wāf* downwards to right. The legends are usually more correctly written at Qinnasrīn that at the other mints in the Jund (Walker 132 ff.)

657 AE 3h 2.74g – [Christ Church College].

658 AE 3h 1.98g – [purchase, Sotheby's, 14.7.76].

659 AE 5h 2.88g – Same dies as no. 660 [Christ Church College].

660 AE 6h 3.05g – Holed; same dies as no. 659 and same obverse die as no. 666 [Christ Church College].

661 AE 10h 3.54g – Girdle band shows zigzag pattern [purchase, Sotheby's, 14.7.76].

662 AE 6h 3.35g – [Shamma 1232].

663 AE 11h 3.58g – [Shamma 1233].

664 AE 12h 2.86g – [Shamma 1234].

665 AE 10h 2.49g – Transformed cross on four steps [Shamma 1235].

As LAST, but *bi-qinnasrīn* downwards to right and *wāf* upwards to left.

666 AE 11h 2.69g – Obverse die same as no. 660; transformed cross on four steps [Christ Church College].

667 AE 12h 2.93g – OBV: No girdle band. REV: Transformed cross on four steps [Shamma 1226].

668 AE 12h 3.74g – OBV: Unusual style; caliph appears to have long flowing hair as on some coins from Damascus, e.g., nos. 706 and 709 [Shamma 1228].

669 AE 7h 3.41g – Small thick flan; same reverse die as no. 670 [Shamma 1229].

670 AE 12h 2.95g – Same reverse die as no. 669 [Shamma 1230].

671 AE 8h 3.63g – Transformed cross on four steps [Shamma 1237].

Qūrus (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

Girdle band normally shown as a long loop as at Ḥalab. Transformed cross on three steps with mint name قـورس, *qūrus*, to right, downwards, and *wāf* to left, upwards. The coins of this mint are usually struck on small round flans (Walker J.2).

672 AE 12h 3.28g – [Shamma 1246].

673 AE 6h 3.64g – Very worn; almost certainly same reverse die as no. 672 [Shamma 1300].

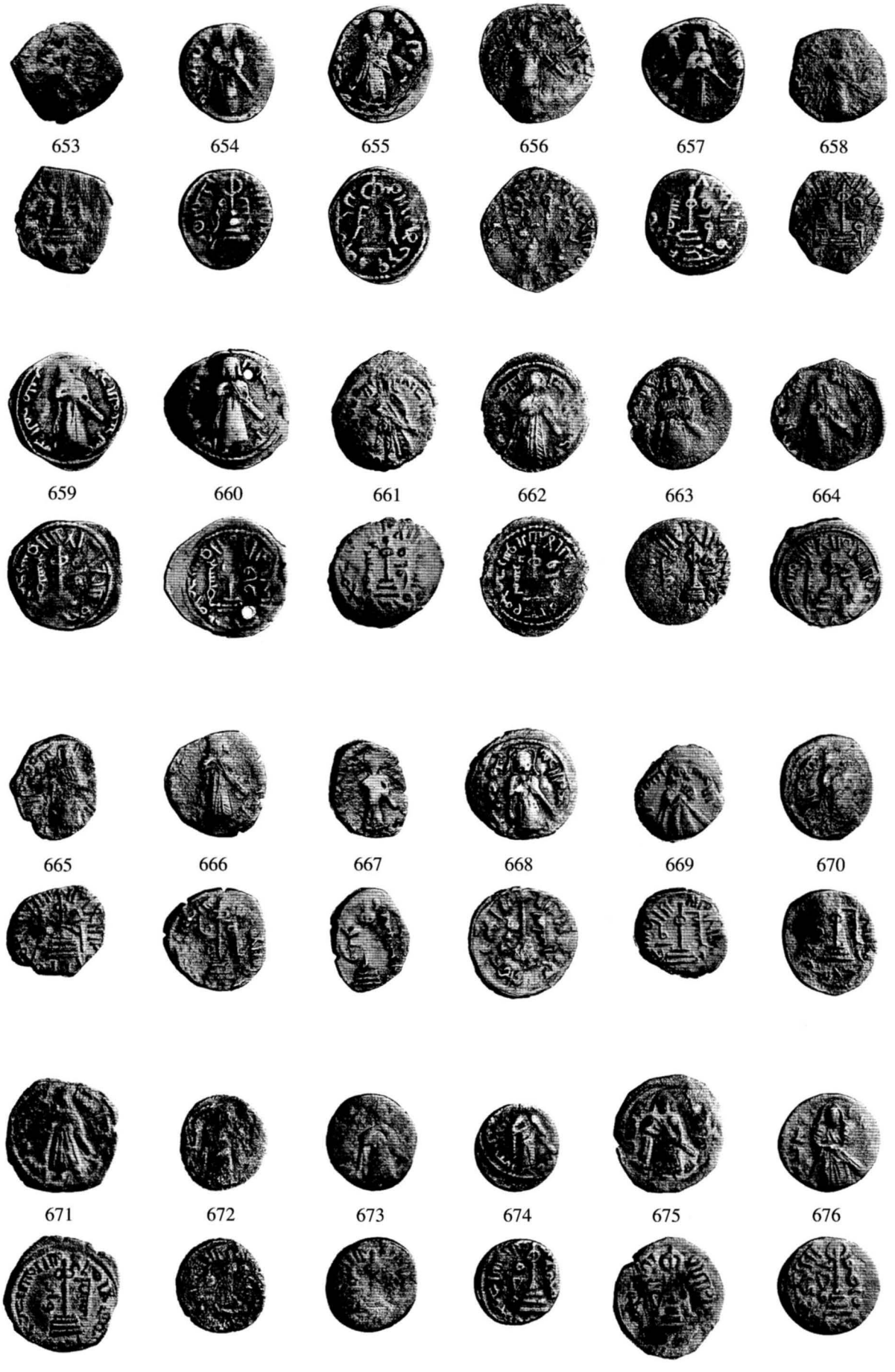
Maʿarrat Miṣrīn (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

The style of obverse and the depiction of the girdle band are rather variable at this mint, but it is most commonly a single line or very thin loop. The obverse legend is normally خليفة الله, *khalīfat allāh*, to right, downwards, and امير المؤمنين, *amīr al-muʿminīn*, to left, downwards, much of it usually blundered. The reverse has a transformed cross on four steps, with the mint name either side, as at Sarmīn, معـرة, *maʿarrat*, to right, downwards, and مصرين, *miṣrīn*, to left, upwards, both always heavily blundered.

674 AE 10h 2.79g – OBV: Legend only partially visible, but appears to be standard standing caliph legend mentioning ʿAbd al-Malik. REV: First part of mint name appears to read upwards [Christ Church College].

675 AE 6h 2.79g – OBV: Girdle band indicated by two parallel lines. REV: Final two words of *shahāda* blundered and abbreviated. Same obverse die as no. 677 [Shamma 1350].

676 AE 6h 2.50g – REV: Final *allāh* of *shahāda* missing; same reverse die as no. 678 [Shamma 1344].



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677 AE 2h 2.56g – Same obverse die as no. 675 [Shamma 1340].

678 AE 11h 2.69g – Rev: Double-struck, same die as no. 676 [Shamma 1335].

Manbij (in Jund Qinnasrīn)

The obverse of the most common variety of Manbij is very distinctive with a standing caliph figure with schematic long hair, flared robe and no girdle band. One die seems to depict a circular neck ornament (nos. 679-680). The obverse legend for this variety is as at Maᶜarrat Miṣrīn, although not normally quite so blundered. The reverse has a transformed cross on three steps with the mint name منبج, *manbij*, to right, upwards, and *wāf* at left, also upwards (Walker 102 ff.). A less common variety, Walker 136, has normal obverse legends mentioning ᶜAbd al-Malik and a less distinctive style. It is not represented in this collection, although no. 685 could possibly be a rather irregular example.

679 AE 11h 2.79g – Caliph appears to wear circular neck ornament. Holed; same dies as no. 680 [Thorburn, 1966].

680 AE 8h 2.26g – Same dies as no. 679 [Shamma 1278].

681 AE 4h 2.38g – Details of obverse unclear [Shamma 1280].

682 AE 4h 2.69g – Probably Manbij, but double-struck and details obscure [Shamma 1321].

Uncertain Mints (probably in Jund Qinnasrīn)

Types described individually for each coin.

683 AE 1h 2.62g – Obv: Standing caliph figure of typical Jund Qinnasrīn appearance, with traces of standard legend around. Rev: *wāf* to left, downwards, mint name obscured. Overstruck on the cut down flan of a Byzantine follis, of which the reverse **M** is visible under obverse [Shamma 1061].

684 AE 5h 2.86g – Obv: Standing caliph figure of typical Jund Qinnasrīn appearance, with standard legend around. Rev: *wāf* to left (blundered, probably upwards), end of mint name written سد....., to right, downwards [Shamma 1245].

685 AE 5h 1.65g – Obv: Standing caliph figure of typical Jund Qinnasrīn appearance, with standard legends around. Rev: *wāf* to left, upwards, mint to right, downwards, perhaps صنب for Manbij [Shamma 1277].

686 AE 12h 3.03g – Obv: Girdle band shown as long loop and drapery shown quite realistically, with standard legend around. Rev: Transformed cross on three steps, with mint name written upwards to left and eight-pointed star to right. This well-preserved coin has an obverse resembling some coins from Ḥims or Baalbek, but the mint name seems to written as سسدله, which could hardly be either of these. The closest possibility would be a corrupt retrograde writing of Qinnasrīn, which occurs occasionally. Alternatively, this may be a new mint, as yet undeciphered [purchase, Sotheby's, 20.8.76, ex lot 193].

Ḥarrān (in the province of al-Jazīra)

Distinctive slim figure of the caliph with large head and no girdle band. Obverse legends are محمد (*muḥammad*) to the left and the mint name حـــران to the right, both downwards. The reverse has a very slim transformed cross on three steps with a monogram to left, محمد (*muḥammad*) to right and the letters I S below. The meaning of these two letters and the monogram is not known, but see footnote 76 (Walker Vat.1).

687 AE 12h 3.00g – [bequest, A.W. Pullan].

al-Ruhā (Edessa, in the province of al-Jazīra)

Very distinctive figure of the caliph with a large elongated head, long hair and beard, engraved in some detail. The girdle band is shown as a short single line from the elbow. Obverse legends are محمد (*muḥammad*) to left and رسول الله (*rasūl allāh*) to right, both downwards. The reverse has a transformed cross on four steps with the mint name الرها to left, downwards, and the *shahāda* around (Walker 92).

688 AE 3h 2.95g – [Shamma 1164].

Ḥimṣ (in Jund Ḥimṣ)

Girdle band normally shown as long loop. Transformed cross on four steps with the mint name بحمص (*bi-ḥimṣ*) to right, downwards, and an eight-pointed star to left. The standing caliph coins of Ḥimṣ are generally well-engraved and have fewer blunders in the legends that at most other mints (Walker 118 ff.).

689 AE 6h 3.13g – [purchase, Sotheby's, 14.7.76].

690 AE 12h 3.69g – [Thorburn, 1966].

691 AE 6h 3.40g – Six-pointed star to left of transformed cross [Christ Churst College].

692 AE 6h 3.12g – Obverse die very close to no. 690, perhaps the same [Shamma 1087].

693 AE 10h 3.58g – [Shamma 1094].

694 AE 6h 4.08g – Obv: Girdle band reduced to short line. Rev: six-pointed star to left of transformed cross [Shamma 1090].

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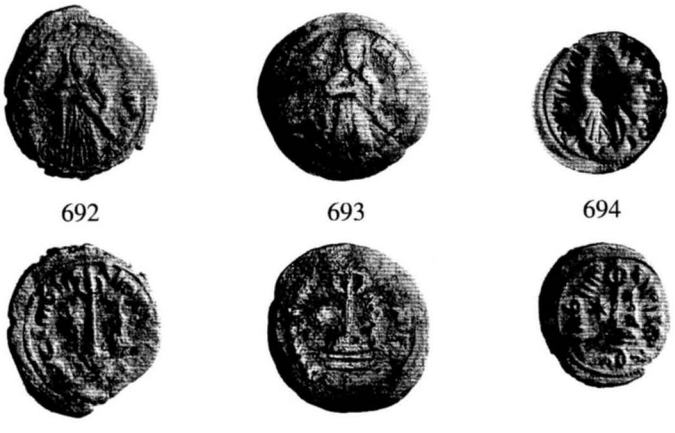

As LAST, but no star in reverse field.

695 AE 12h 4.20g – OBV: Slim figure with no girdle band. REV: Star replaced by what is either an unread letter or a symbol. Same obverse die as Walker 118 [Shamma 285].

696 AE 9h 4.71g – OBV: Slim figure with no girdle band, appears to have long hair. REV: No symbol in reverse field [Christ Church College].

As LAST, but ضرب (*ḍarb*) to left of transformed cross. This variety is generally smaller and lighter than the other coins of this mint (Walker ANS.8).

697 AE 1h 2.52g – Same reverse die as no. 699 [Thorburn, 1966].

698 AE 6h 2.83g – [Shamma 1093].

699 AE 12h 3.70g – Same reverse die as no. 697 [Shamma 1092].

700 AE 1h 3.12g – Caliph's face and headdress very clear [Shamma 1091].

Baalbek (in Jund Dimashq)

OBV: Girdle band shown as thin loop, eight-pointed star in right field; standard legend preceded by بسم الله (*bism allāh*). REV: Transformed cross on four steps with mint name بعلبك to right, downwards; standard *shahāda* around is preceded by *bism allāh* (Walker, Vat.2).

701 AE 5h 3.22g – Same obverse die as nos. 703 and Walker Vat.2 (final word المؤمنين , *al-muʿminīn*, missing) [Shamma 1002].

702 AE 8h 3.23g – Same obverse die as no. 704 [Thorburn, 1966].

As LAST, but mint name to left of transformed cross and retrograde.

703 AE 6h 3.44g – Same obverse die as nos. 701 and Walker Vat.2 (final word المؤمنين , *al-muʿminīn*, missing) [Shamma 1001].

704 AE 5h 4.26g – Same obverse die as no. 702 [Shamma 1003].

Dimashq (in Jund Dimashq)

Gold coinage

Mintless gold dinar, presumably struck at Dimashq, and produced each year from AH 74 to 77, the year when the first post-reform dinar appeared. It seems very likely that they were produced at the capital, although probably not in the same mint as the copper which is of very different style and much lower standard. OBV: Normal standing caliph figure with girdle band shown in a very thin loop. Around, the *shahāda* preceded by *bism allāh*. REV: Transformed cross on four steps surmounted by a small globe. Around from 1h, بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار سنة سبع وسبعين, "in the name of God this dinar was struck in the year seventy-seven". (Walker P.13 and 14; see also Miles 1967).

AH 77

705 AV 6h 4.45g – Same dies as Lavoix 1887, no. 56 (Walker P.14) [purchase, Peus 24.3.71, lot 1029].

Copper coinage

The most common variety of Dimashq comprises coins struck on quite small round flans, but often carelessly engraved, with numerous blunders in the legends. The girdle band is always shown as three separate strands, and the obverse legend is the *shahāda*. The reverse has a squat transformed cross, with a relatively large circle, on four steps. The mint name دمشق , *dimashq*, written to the right, downwards, sometimes as مشق with the first letter missing (Walker 86 ff.; see also Miles 1967).

706 AE 4h 2.35g – Obverse and reverse *shahāda* heavily blundered; caliph apparently bare-headed. Same obverse die as no. 708 [Shamma 1004].

707 AE 6h 5.17g – OBV: Legends unclear. REV: Legend and mint name heavily blundered; transformed cross on only three steps. Same reverse die as no. 712 [Shamma 1110].

708 AE 6h 3.20g – Same obverse die as no. 706 [Shamma 1119].

709 AE 11h 2.53g – Caliph apparently bare-headed. Reverse legend heavily blundered [purchase, Sotheby's 14.7.76].

710 AE 3h 2.98g – Caliph apparently wears headdress, with long hair visible below. Final *allāh* missing from both obverse and reverse *shahāda*. Mint name written correctly with initial *dāl* [Shamma 1121].

711 AE 12h 3.07g – OBV: *Shahāda* missing final *allāh*. REV: Legends heavily blundered, and transformed cross with an additional half circle at top [Shamma 1128].

712 AE 3h 2.82g – Same reverse die as no. 707 [Thorburn, 1966].

713 AE 12h 2.46g – OBV: Caliph appears to be wearing cap with hair visible below. REV: Unusually small circle on transformed cross; mint name written correctly with initial *dāl* [Shamma 1185].

714 AE 8h 2.77g – OBV: Caliph apparently bare-headed with long hair. REV: Star to left of transformed cross [Shamma 1118].

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The following coin is unusual in that it has, on its reverse, the normal obverse legend naming ᶜAbd al-Malik. It is of the same larger module as the other main variety of Dimashq (Walker 121, not represented in the collection), which has this legend on the obverse, and shares with it a much higher standard of engraving than the above coins. It may therefore represent a transitional issue, or perhaps a case of the die engraver misinterpreting instructions following the introduction of a new type. Walker 122 may have the same anomalous arrangement of legends, but it is very worn.

715 AE 5h 4.70g – Obv: Girdle band shown as long loop hanging from caliph's elbow; *shahāda* preceded by *bism allāh*. Rev: Legend around reads لعبد الله عبد الملك امير الـ..... [Shamma 1126].

Mintless, but presumably ᶜAmmān

This very unusual variety lacks a mint name, but is of the same distinctive style and fabric as the standing caliph coins of ᶜAmmān. The obverse is very close indeed to some ᶜAmmān examples, and the variety is almost certainly from that mint. The reverse, however, comprises a capital **M** with "officina" symbol A, and the *shahāda* around (Walker 104).

716 AE 1h 3.43g – Obverse rather worn [Thorburn, 1966].

ᶜAmmān (in Jund Dimashq)

The coins of ᶜAmmān are generally reasonably well-engraved and struck on small, thick round flans. The caliph's figure is quite squat, with a distinctive headdress resembling the *kūfiya*. The girdle band normally comprises three separate strands as at Dimashq, but occasionally only two strands are found. The reverse has a rather short transformed cross on four steps with a large circle, the mint name عمان, *ᶜammān*, to the right, and an eight-pointed star to the left (Walker 126 ff.).

717 AE 11h 3.13g – [Shamma 1209].

The next six coins all share a common obverse die, with the obverse legend retrograde from 11h. The die is also the same as that of Walker 129.

718 AE 10h 3.32g – [Thorburn, 1966].

719 AE 8h 3.32g – [Shamma 1213].

720 AE 11h 2.39g – Star to right of transformed cross, mint name upwards to left. Same reverse die as nos. 721 and 723 [Shamma 1212].

721 AE 3h 3.55g – Same reverse die as nos. 720 and 723 [Shamma 1211].

722 AE 5h 2.67g – [Shamma 1211].

723 AE 2h 2.68g – Star to right of transformed cross and mint name upwards to left. Same reverse die as nos. 720 and 721 [Shamma 1341].

724 AE 10h 3.05g – Girdle band shown as only two strands [Shamma 1214].

725 AE 7h 3.09g – Perhaps same obverse die as no. 724 [Shamma 1210].

726 AE 6h 3.48g – [Shamma 1215].

727 AE 5h 3.17g – Obv: Legend retrograde from 11h. Rev: Star to right and mint name upwards to left [Shamma 1348].

728 AE 10h 4.07g – [Shamma 1208].

729 AE 12h 4.27g – [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, lot 124].

Īliyā (in Jund Filasṭīn)

The standing caliph coins of Jund Filasṭīn are markedly different from those of other Junds, both in the style of the obverse and in the use of the cursive **m** with the name of the Jund as well as that of the mint town. Obv: Schematically rendered figure of the caliph with long hair and beard, herringbone pattern on robe, and with the girdle band shown as three strands. Legend around, anti-clockwise, from 11h, محمد رسول الله (*muḥammad rasūl allāh*, "Muḥammad is the messenger of God"). Rev: Cursive **m** with mint name ايليا, *īliyā*, to left, upwards, and the Jund name فلسطين, *filasṭīn*, to right, upwards; exergual line below (Walker 73 ff.).

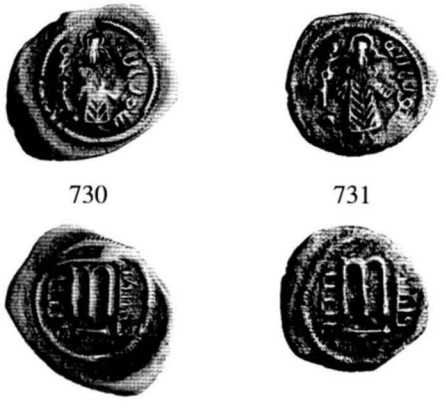
730 AE 12h 3.12g – Horizontal line above **m** [Keble College, purchased from Spink, 1889].

731 AE 6h 3.03g – [Thorburn, 1966].

715 716 717 718 719 720

721 722 723 724 725

726 727 728 729



730 731

Egyptian "Arab-Byzantine" Coinage

Obv: Crude three-quarter length imperial figure holding long cross and globus cruciger with star below globus. Rev: I B with cross on globe between and MACP in exergue. Probably minted at al-Fusṭāṭ (the main published reference is Awad 1972, but a much more up-to-date study should shortly be published by Domoszewicz and Bates —see footnote no. 103. The three coins below are all Awad type IVa and Domaszewicz and Bates type AIII).

732 AE 6h 8.13g – [Shamma 1262].

733 AE 6h 3.39g – [purchase, Sabin Galleries, 1960].

734 AE 6h 2.92g – [Thorburn, 1966].

Obv: Crude facing bust, palm branch to left and star with E below to right. Rev: In field, I B with M between, OBN in exergue (the coin below is generally similar to Domaszewicz and Bates type AII, but with a variant exergual legend).

735 AE 6h 9.25g – [purchase, Sotheby's, 13.7.77, ex lot 124].

Post-Reform Coinage of North Africa and Spain

North African mint, probably Carthage or Tripoli — Copper fals

Obv: Two Imperial Busts, both wearing trefoil ornaments on crown; left hand figure has prominent fibula. Latin legend clockwise from top, (DeUS) TUUS DeUS ET AliU(S NON Est) [letters in lower case are omitted from the legend on the coin], "God is your God, there is no other". Rev: Transformed cross on three steps, horizontal bar on top. Around from 12h: Latin legend IN NOME TUO DeuS UnuS, "in thy name, one God," slightly blundered (Walker 156 ff.).

736 AE 3h 2.08g – [Shamma 5].

737 AE 2n 2.98g – As last, but legends more blundered; the reverse legend is virtually incomprehensible [Shamma 4].

North African mint, perhaps al-Qayrawān — Copper fals

Obv: Imperial Bust, bearded with trefoil ornament on crown; Arabic legends, to left, downwards, في سنة, "*in the year*", and to right, downwards, ثمنين, short form of "*eighty*".

Rev: Transformed cross on three steps with globe on top; around, from 1h and entirely retrograde, بسم الله ..... به النعمن , which is fully *bism allāh hādhā amara bihi al-nuᶜmān*, "in the name of God, al-Nuᶜmān ordered this" (Walker 164 ff.)

AH 80

738 AE 2h 3.19g – [purchase, Spink, 1957].

739 AE 6h 2.54g – As last, year 80 clear on obverse but only traces of retrograde legend on reverse [gift, C. Warren, probably around 1890].

North African mint, perhaps al-Qayrawan — Gold tremissis

Obv: Heavily blundered Latin legend around, partially off flan, continuing (retrograde?) across central field. Rev: Transformed cross on two steps with horizontal bar on top; traces of Latin legend around, most of which is off the flan. The incomplete legends on this coin are much more heavily blundered than usual, making any reading very uncertain (Walker 1733 ff., var.).

740 AV 12h 1.17g – [purchase, Peus 26.7.71, lot 1063].

Ṭanja — Copper fals

Obv: Crude Roman imperial head left; around, clockwise from 1h, heavily blundered retrograde Latin legend ΟΝΕΩΟ.....ΨΙΣ, read by Walker as abbreviated form of *domine Deus quis tibi similis*. Rev: Pentagram with Arabic legend below, بسم الله / فلس ضرب / بطنجه, *bism allāh fals ḍuriba bi-ṭanja*, "in the name of God, a fals struck in Ṭanja", of which the mint name is heavily blundered, therefore slightly uncertain; there is a small star above the *bā* of *ḍuriba* (Walker P.28).

741 AE 8h 3.91g – [Christ Church College].

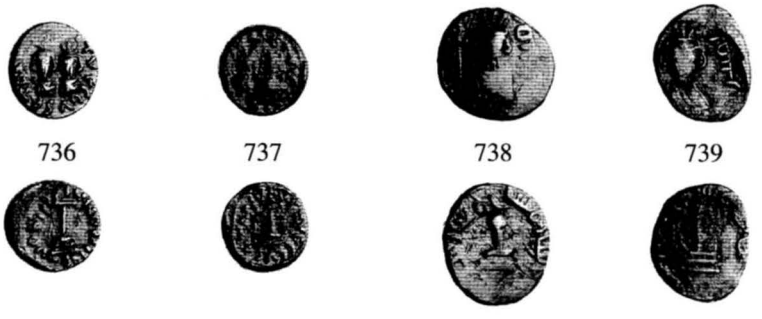
Spain —Gold solidus

Obv: Eight-pointed star with heavily blundered Latin legend around, partly off flan, which is probably a blundered version of the *shahāda* in Latin, *in nomine domini non Deus nisi Deus solus non Deus alius*. Rev: Across field, INDcXI, "indiction 11"; around, retrograde and blundered, HSSdFRNNSPNANNXCINI for *Hic SoliDus FeRitus iN SPaNia ANNo XCIIII*, "this solidus made in Spain year 94" (Walker 181).

AH 94

742 AV — 3.42g – [purchase, A.H. Baldwin, 1994].

732 733 734 735



736 737 738 739

740 741 742

Notes to Arab-Sasanian Catalogue

5 – The Pahlavi numeral '5' consists of two parts, an element denoting '3' followed by one denoting '2'. The first element is written as the Pahlavi letters AN or SN, i.e., with a straight vertical left stroke, rather than with the more usual curved stroke. The same feature is found on the drachm of Kūfa 79 (no.6), on which the numeral '9' is composed of the numeral '3' repeated three times. For this reason, I have read the long debated date on the coins of Bīshāpūr, and Veh-az-Amid-Kavād as 73 rather than 71 (cat. 191 and 490), i.e., as a mixture of a numeral '3' and the word HFTAT for '70'.

The Pahlavi word DYN in ObQ1 may be translated as "religion" (Mackenzie 1971, p.26).

7 – The obverse legend is "zolooo gōzogono". The first word is probably the title of the ruler of Jūzjān; the latter is the Bactrian name for Jūzjān. Göbl read the reverse Bactrian legend as "gorigo šoyo" for "Gorigo Shah", which he interpreted as a place name, presumably of the place where the mint was situated; he further speculated that it might be the same mint that signed itself GW in Pahlavi on coins of Yazdigerd I and later rulers (Göbl 1967, v.1, pp. 191-192). However, a personal name or title seems more appropriate, perhaps the name or another title of the individual who held the post of "zolooo" of Jūzjān.

As we have been unable to locate a font containing the Bactrian letter representing š, we have used the Greek *rho* in its stead.

10 – If the date 36 is authentic, as I believe, it is far more likely to be a Hijrī year than a Yazdigerd year. If the date were in the Yazdigerd era (YE 36 began on 9 Rabīᶜ II 47), the coin would be almost precisely contemporary with the drachms of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜĀmir clearly dated AH 47 (cat. 11-12). Yet the two types differ widely in style: on the year 36 coin, the face is far narrower, the altar base is very differently rendered, the *hā* of *allāh* in the obverse margin is shaped like a Pahlavi P, etc. For these reasons I would suggest a Hijrī date (AH 36 corresponds almost exactly to YE 25), in conformity with my theory that drachms of the Baṣran mints with dates between 33 and 36 are almost all, if not all, dated in the Hijrī era (with the likely exception of the invariably idiosyncratic mint of Iṣṭakhr).

37 – The die break through the reverse circles on cat. 35 has advanced considerably on cat. 37 (same die).

41 – The word بن appears to have been added to the die as an afterthought, perhaps because the engraver realized only later that he had forgotten it.

43 – The mint is undeciphered and could also be interpreted as SYFTAK. A location within Khurāsān is almost certain, as Salm's coinage was restricted to that province and to Sīstān; the coin is of Khurāsānī style, not Sīstānī. The last portion of the mint name is not clear on this specimen, due to doublestriking, but is very clear on the Warden/Album specimen.

45 – As Mochiri 1986, no. 13 (different dies).

94 – This coin appears to be a muling of a year 62 reverse with an obverse of years 59-60.

95 – Because of the compacting, the date could be misconstrued as DWŠST for 62.

107 – The earring on this specimen is unclear. It could be E0 instead of the usual E1 found on this type.

109 – The mint BŠ is perhaps an error for BYŠ; compare the omission of the W in the date on the following coin (cat. 110).

111 – The style of this coin is different from and inferior to that of the three other drachms of this mint and governor in this collection (cat. 112-114); it is quite likely an imitation.

118 – What looks like a pellet before *bism allāh* is merely die damage; small "symbols" derived merely from die damage are remarkably common on Arab-Sasanian dies.

121 – Probably a muling of a Baṣran obverse of about year 60 with an old Bīshāpūr reverse. Another, but far less likely possibility is that the date is a genuine Yazdigerd year (YE 47 began on 18 Shaᶜbān 58).

124 – Possibly an imitation, as both obverse and reverse differ noticeably from other specimens of this date and mint. In particular, both *bism allāh* and the date are written very differently, and *rabbī* is placed at the left rather than the right portion of ObQ3. However, it is also conceivable that an alternative engraver produced the dies for this specimen.

141 – The fillet above the left shoulder replaces the crescent normally located in this position.

143 – The first portion of the date consists of three curved teeth, followed by an attached vertical crescent open to the right, and can thus be interpreted as SYPNCA rather than SPNCA, if the third tooth is regarded as a separate Y rather than the initial part of the letter P. However, on a coin of Dārābjird dated YE 53 (cat. 256), the SYP of SYPNCAH consists of *four* curved teeth before the crescent. It thus seems more appropriate to read the date as SPNCA rather than SYPNCA. When used as the digit of a date, the number '3' can be written either as S or SY; compare two different Kirmān issues, one of KRMAN-AT 73 with '3' written SY (cat. 318) and one of KRMAN-NAR 73 with '3' written S (cat. 326).

156 ff. – During the governorship of ᶜUmar, the coins of Bīshāpūr show a gradual development in the position of the hands, from RR to EE. The RR pattern is standard in 67 and 68, somewhat less so in 69, but is rapidly giving way to EE in 70; by the time of Khālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh (73-74), the transition is complete. Many of the coins listed here as EE (for this and later governors) show very slight favoring of either the left or right hand, but I have not considered this significant. A similar process occurred at Ardashīr Khurra and WYHC, though less systematically.

199 – The word in ObQ3 can be read as either MW or MN. For a discussion of this question, see footnote 166 in the introduction.

226-228 – This date was misread by Walker and others as

a somewhat defective SHŠTAT for 83.

229 – The monogram identified here as "GM" has never been properly deciphered; the reading GM is purely conjectural. It is found on the obverse or reverse margin of drachms from Bīshāpūr, Dārābjird and Jayy. The symbol was possibly used at other mints as well, though I have not examined this matter.

231 – The meaning of what might be interpreted as either a Pahlavi W or N following *lillāh* remains unknown.

243 – The obverse die clearly does not belong to Dārābjird. The coin is thus almost certainly a muling of a Ziyād obverse die of some other mint with a Dārābjird reverse die of year 30, most likely a die from the time of Khusraw II. It is certainly an irregular issue and may be an imitation.

245-246 – The Pahlavi transcription of Muʿāwiya can also be read as MAAWYA, as favored by both Walker and Gaube, rather than MYYAWYA. However, the first two strokes after the M more closely resemble a pair of Y's than an A, especially because the second stroke descends quite far below the third and fourth; these last two are clearly the letter A. The same epigraphic style is the norm for YY in the name Ziyād (ZYYAT), both on his own coins and, for the patronymic, on those of his sons ʿUbayd Allāh and Salm, and in the name ʿAṭīya (ATYYA).

249 – The syllables at the altar base seem to spell the name Shawshan, but its meaning is not known. Given that the subprovincial mints of Dārābjird are sometimes indicated in the same location, it would seem logical that Shawshan or whatever was a geographical name. However, no corresponding toponym is known to me.

257 – The date is rather compressed, the final two letters merging with the outer circle. Both the style and general appearance are correct for YE 56.

297 – Outer pellets, if any, are clipped away.

298 – The date could also be HFŠST for 67, not implausible in light of cat. 300, dated 68. However, on most specimens I have seen of this type, the date is clearly 63.

299 – As noted in the introduction (section on Ibn al-Zubayr), the year 63 coins of GD, which bear the patronymic name form, were probably indeed struck during AH 63.

300 – The date 68 is entirely clear and indisputable. There is a drachm in the Warden/Album collection in the name of ʿAttāb b. Warqā' (ATAB Y WARKAN) that is identical to the present specimen except for the name legend. The present coin is perhaps a muling of an old obverse of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād with the GD 68 reverse of ʿAttāb. I have not been able to examine a photograph of the ʿAttāb drachm to determine whether it shares a common reverse die with this specimen.

305 – The word *sana* following the mint name is engraved in tiny letters, as though it were added as an afterthought. In addition, the word اثنين can also be interpreted as ثنتين, as it is unclear whether the first two teeth are joined. In any case, the meaning is the same either way. The right fillet on the reverse is detached from the altar assistant and is angled towards the left rather than towards the right, as though the die engraver failed to recognize its function.

308 – Despite the many thousands of Arab-Sasanian coins that have been discovered since 1859, this piece still appears to be the sole surviving example of this governor's coinage.

315 – The final AN of the mint name is obscured by double-striking and not entirely certain. The word GDH in ObQ3 seems to be lacking, even though much of the area where it should be located is obscured by the countermark.

325 – The apparent absence of the F in DWHTAT may be the result of double-striking, by which the F and T overlap and are thus indistinguishable.

337 – The mint is clearly MRW followed by two small vertical strokes rather than just one, the latter being the normal orthography for Marw. Perhaps the mint is a defective MRWRW for MRWRWT (Marw al-Rūdh). Sears read the mint as KRMAN, which is clearly incorrect, presumably just a typographical error by the author. The attendants are wearing wide trousers, typical of Khurāsānian but not of Kirmānī issues.

344 – There is possibly another triplet or a single pellet at 11h30 in RvQ4, but uncertain due to encrustation.

348 – The final Y of the date is presumably just a compressed A or H; see the note to cat. 385.

358 – On many of the coins of SK 48, the C of CHL is written as a vertical line. This led Miles (1957, p.191, nos. 4-5) to misread the date as 28. If there were to exist a coin of SK 28, it would surely have just *bism allāh* rather than *bism allāh rabbī* in the margin.

367 – The reading *mālik lillāh*, as opposed to *mulk lillāh*, is likely, in view of the following coins of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, with *ʿubayd allāh lillāh* in ObQ3. Furthermore, if it were the alternate phrase, it should be written as *al-mulk lillāh* rather than *mulk lillāh*.

372 – Walker tentatively read the date as TLTŠST for a queried 63, but what follows TLT is clearly not Š, but almost certainly AN, of which the N can be logically interpreted as the beginning of '90'. However, the last three letters are quite clearly either WAT or WST, of which the former is more likely. I am not aware of '90' written as NWAT rather than NWT; the latter form, though quite uncommon, is consistently used on Ṭabaristān coins dated PYE 90-99 (Malek 1993a, pp. 140-144). Because the Ṭabaristān coins use NW rather than NAW or NWA for '9', it is reasonable to assume that Ṭabaristān might have written NWT instead of NWAT. Sears also accepted the reading as TLTANWAT for a tentative 93 (Sears 1996a, p.45, no. 13).

383 – A third specimen, from a third set of dies, is Sotheby's, 25 May 2000, lot 235.

385 – The use of Y instead of A at the end of PNCY is not infrequent, and is normally due to lack of space. In my opinion it does not indicate any manner of carelessness or inaccuracy.

409 – What appears to be a second crescent below the normal obverse crescent (above the left shoulder) is due merely to double-striking of the normal crescent.

420-422 – The date can be interpreted either as SYSYST, with the initial SY for the digit '3' and the following SY for the decade '30', or as SSYYST, with the initial S for '3' and the subsequent SYY for '30'.

433 – This date was misconstrued by Walker as 138.

494-495 – These coins are believed to have been struck in Ādharbāyjān at some time in the second half of the seventh century. See Sears 1995, pp.7 ff.

502 – The date on this specimen is quite clear, but was surprisingly regarded by Gyselen as "undetermined".

504 – The date is, in my opinion, more likely 138, thus contemporary with the main Ṭabaristān silver series (PYE 115-143). It was misread as 89 by Gyselen.

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